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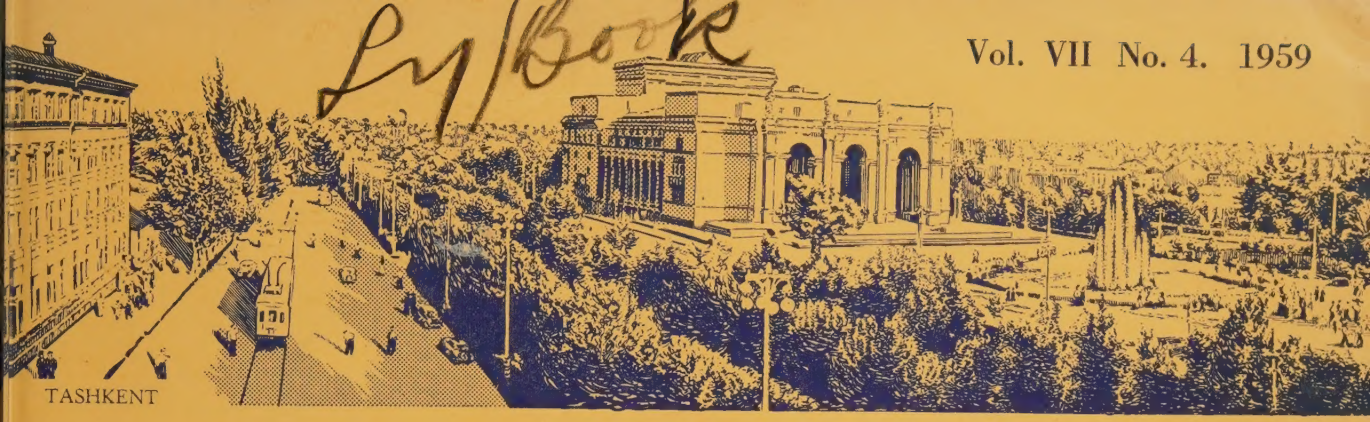

TASHKENT

ENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

A quarterly review of cultural developments in the six Muslim republics of the Soviet Union.

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CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW aims at presenting a coherent and objective picture of cultural developments in the six Muslim Soviet Socialist Republics of Azerbaydzhan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizia and Kazakhstan. The subjects treated include history, geography, demography, the arts, education, irrigation and communications.

In addition, the *REVIEW* analyses past and current Soviet publications on the countries bordering on or adjacent to these republics, namely, Persia, Afghanistan, the Indian sub-continent, Tibet and Sinkiang.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows :-

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg. SSR	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Tadzhik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzb. SSR	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)
BR	Bakinskiy Rabochiy
FET	Far East Trade
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
KT	Kommunist Tadzhikistana
KZ	Krasnaya Zvezda
NT	New Times
P	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya
SU	Soviet Union
T	The Times
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra
VVS	Vedemosti Verkhovnogo Soveta

CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

VOL. VII, NO. 4

EDITORIAL

On many occasions during the past four years CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW has referred to the growing importance of Soviet oriental studies, to the breadth of their scope and to the emphasis which they lay on modern problems and particularly on the modern forms of eastern languages. Careful analyses were made of the article in KOMMUNIST of May 1955 which heralded a great reorganization and expansion of oriental studies(1), of the published proceedings of the All-Union Congress of Orientalists held in Tashkent in June 1957(2), and of the authoritative editorial in the December 1957 issue of SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE which outlined the preparations to be made for the XXVth Session of the International Congress of Orientalists being held in the USSR* in August 1960(3). This session - the first of the Congress to be held in the Soviet Union - will be an event of great significance which, in the Soviet view, may well affect the concept of oriental scholarship.

It may be said without fear of contradiction that the Western academic world as a whole is ignorant of the nature and achievement of Russian and Soviet oriental studies. Of the many hundreds of books published in Britain during the past 50 years on eastern subjects, only a very few contain any reference to Russian source material. This is even true of books on Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, countries whose histories have been and are intimately connected with Russia and on which a wealth of Russian literature is in existence. Of the 50 odd papers presented at an international conference on Middle East history held at a British university in 1958, only two referred to Russian sources, although these amount

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* It is understood that the Congress is now to be held in Moscow and not in Leningrad as previously announced.

to many millions of words. One of the most recent books on Islam published in Britain (Alfred Guillaume's ISLAM, 1954) devotes less than half a page to the Muslims of the Soviet Union and does not mention a single Russian work on the subject.

This ignorance of and indifference to the huge specialized literature produced in an empire whose dominions extend over more than one-third of the total territory of Asia is mainly due to the fact that most Western orientalists cannot read the Russian language. This means not only that they are unable to evaluate the work of Soviet orientalists, but that they are unaware of the general trend of oriental studies in the USSR and of the relation in which they stand to the Soviet Government and the Communist Party. Insofar as British orientalists have any views on the subject at all, they seem to fall into two groups: those who believe that scholarship knows no frontiers and that oriental studies are pursued in the USSR in the same spirit and with the same end in view as they are pursued in Britain; and those who assume that they are intended solely for propaganda purposes and therefore have no academic value whatever.

Anyone with a sufficient knowledge both of oriental studies as practised in Britain or any other western country, and of the Russian language to examine the journals and bulletins of the Institute of Oriental Studies in the Moscow Academy of Sciences, or of any other such institute in the USSR, can see at once that these journals have a conception of their subject quite different from that prevailing outside the Soviet bloc. In the first place the Russian words vostokovedeniye and vostokoved, usually taken to be equivalent to the English words 'oriental studies' and 'orientalist', in fact connote something much wider. Vostokoved in particular means a specialist on any aspect of eastern affairs and not simply 'one versed in oriental languages and literature', which is the meaning of 'orientalist' given in the Oxford Dictionary. Thus, vostokoved would in Russian be a perfectly correct description of an economist, agriculturist, or even journalist, who concerned himself mainly, or even only occasionally, with eastern affairs, but who knew nothing of eastern languages or cultures. In Britain no such person would think of himself as or expect to be called 'an orientalist'.

Once this semantic distinction is understood it is not surprising to find that vostokovedeniye in the USSR embraces a far wider field of activities than oriental studies does in Britain, or indeed in most countries of the West. The institutes of Oriental Studies in the USSR concern themselves not only with the ancient and modern history, literature, languages, philosophy, art, and economics of eastern peoples, but with projecting Soviet policy in relation to those peoples. To quote from an article on the forthcoming XXVth International Congress of Orientalists which appeared in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE No.6 of 1957, "Soviet oriental studies are characterized by a militant anti-colonialism which expresses itself in sharp, scientifically based criticism of the apologists of imperialism and racialism

The same article recalled that the original reorganization of Soviet oriental studies in the 1930s consisted in "a retreat from the ideas of bourgeois orientalism, the assimilation of Marxist-Leninist methodology and the application of the theories of Marxism-Leninism to the study and solution of concrete oriental problems".

Although there are marked differences of aim, scope, inspiration and method between Soviet and Western oriental studies and although some of the preoccupations of Soviet orientalists do in fact run counter to the Western conception of scholarship, it does not thereby follow that Soviet orientology is lacking in academic value. On the contrary, in many branches of study Soviet productions on eastern subjects are well up to Western levels, and in a few, notably lexicography, ethnography, epigraphy, and in the translation of oriental literature, a good deal above them. In the elaboration and systematization of the many eastern languages used inside the USSR Soviet work is without parallel and has received all too little attention in the West. All these are subjects on which politics and ideology can hardly impinge; but the same cannot be said of history, which in the Soviet Union is inevitably written from the Marxist angle and takes a different view of facts from that currently held in the West.

Enough has perhaps been said to show that while Soviet oriental studies make a large, varied and valuable contribution to scholarship, they differ markedly from oriental studies as understood and practised in the West, notably in their scope, in the official direction to which they are constantly subjected, and in the ideology which informs writing in such important fields as history, economics, sociology and religion. In what manner this difference will make itself felt in Moscow in August 1960 still remains to be seen and will depend on a number of factors such as what impression the Soviet Government wishes to make on the non-Soviet world, both East and West, at that particular juncture. What has so far been published in the USSR about previous Congresses and about Soviet views on the nature of oriental studies in general makes it seem likely that there will be changes and that some of these will be directed against 'bourgeois' methodology. This would seem perfectly natural and proper, not to say essential, to those who direct Soviet studies, and it is all the more extraordinary that Soviet apologists abroad, in their eagerness to emphasize the propriety of Soviet intentions, should ignore the political significance which the Russians themselves openly and frankly attach to oriental studies and should be outraged at the suggestion that the Soviet Government may wish to make political use of the XXVth Congress when it meets in Moscow.

Notes

(1) Soviet Oriental Studies: The Need for Further Development. CAR, Vol.III, No.3, pp.251-7.

(2) All-Union Conference of Orientalists at Tashkent. CAR, Vol.V, No.3, pp.258-70.

(3) Preparations for the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists - Leningrad 1960. CAR, Vol.VI, No.2, pp.152-5.

Conference of Central Asian linguists

The first combined conference of the linguists of Central Asia and Kazakhstan dedicated to problems of "phraseology" (i.e. idiomatic expressior was opened in Samarkand on the 16th September. Scholars from Moscow, the Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaydzhan also took part.

The conference will work out a plan for combined work in the future and will organize a coordination centre to guide research in Uzbek "phraseology".

PV. 18.9.59

Prehistoric remains in Uzbekistan

Traces of prehistoric animals were recently found near the village of Ravat in the Yagnob valley, Uzbekistan.

On the surface of a slab of sandstone tracks of carnivorous animals were found. The tracks had three or four toes and the foot measured 30 by 40cm.; the toes were 15-25cm. long and the animals' stride was 1.5-1.8 metres. Other tracks found were those of herbivorous animals - three-toed imprints measuring up to 35cm. in diameter, and traces of a group of animals with five toes and a foot of up to 45cm. in diameter. There were also imprints of large, four-toed paws with toes of up to 20cm. in length ending in small nails; it is supposed that they belong to flying lizards. The tracks were found in Jurassic strata.

PV. 8.8.59

THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA: CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Part One

The Tsarist Period and the Soviet Period to 1941

The Tsarist government had little intention of educating the Central Asians and an important, though unspecified, dignitary declared, "I am not impressed by the wild dreams of philanthropists who want to civilize (ustroit') the Kirgiz [i.e. Kazakhs], to educate them and to raise them to the level of the European nations. I wish from the bottom of my heart that the Kirgiz forever remain nomad shepherds, never sow corn and have nothing to do with learning or even with craftsmanship."(1)

The traditional system of education in Central Asia was religious and the Russian government professed the principle that "the old Muslim school should be left alone".(2) In 1899 the maktabs (lower schools) of Turkestan had a total of 44,773 pupils. This meant that only a small percentage of boys was receiving education: thus in 1912 in the Fergana oblast only 0.5 per cent went to school, in the Samarkand oblast 0.9 and in the Syr-Dar'ya oblast 2 per cent.(3) The teachers were recruited from among the clergy and some of them could only read but not write. Their power over pupils was almost unlimited - according to Soviet writers they could maltreat them as they pleased, short of inflicting death. For example, deep wounds might be cut on the back or heels of the children and covered with salt - as a form of punishment.(4) Instruction consisted in teaching the Arabic alphabet, after which the pupils proceeded to study religious texts written chiefly in Persian and Arabic. The pupils repeated them aloud after the teacher and no attempt was made to understand them, with the result that a pupil leaving the maktab after a period of five or six years was often unable even to read.

Higher education was provided by the madrasah which trained Muslim clergy and specialists in Islamic law. These two schools did not encourage independent thinking, nor did the reformed "Dzhadid" (Jadid) maktabs. The Dzhadids are classified by Soviet authors as members of the new Muslim bourgeoisie. As regards education, their plan was to introduce some secular instruction into the maktabs and at the same time to preserve their religious character. Their periodicals, TARAQQI (Progress), SHUHRAT (News)

and SHURA (Counsel) propagated their educational ideas. These ideas were specified by SHURA as follows: "Those who, having mastered the religious knowledge, embark on a clerical career, should be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of religion and have a previous knowledge of secular subjects. This is particularly important at a time when the problems of marriage, divorce and inheritance are dealt with by the imams. All this demands a good knowledge of disciplines such as economics and sociology."(5) Thus the object of the reformed schools was to employ secular education in the service of religion and only five hours a week out of the total of twenty-five were devoted to secular subjects.

Apart from the religious schools there were the "Russo-native" schools concerned with training interpreters for the local administration. They taught Russian, elementary arithmetic, history and geography as well as Muslim religious knowledge. In the whole of Turkestan there were 28 of them in 1896, rising to 98 in 1909.(6)

In Kazakhstan the authorities organized "simple, cheap schools of Russian literacy" for the natives. These were aul and volost schools with two- and four-year courses respectively, as well as schools with a course lasting six years in the uyezd centres.

Finally, there were Russian schools, the same as in European Russia; but the number of their native pupils was negligible. For example, in Tashkent in 1896 ten boys and eight girls were attending the local grammar schools, while the Tashkent teachers' training college between 1879-1904 had but 65 Central Asians among its 415 graduates.(7)

Printing in the vernacular was very limited. Before the Revolution nothing had been printed in Turkmen, while Kazakh and Tadzhik books were extremely rare and were printed outside those countries. In Uzbekistan the situation was better: in the 1880s in Khorezm and Tashkent the first books were printed in Uzbek and Tadzhik. In 1883 the weekly supplement to the official Russian newspaper, TURKESTANSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, which had appeared in Uzbek and Kazakh, developed into an independent Uzbek weekly, TURKISTON VILOYATINING GAZETI.

The degree of literacy was extremely low. In Kazakhstan only 2 per cent of the native population were literate; in Turkestan the figure was 1.8 per cent, with interesting local variations: while in Kirgizia it varied between 1-2 per cent, in Turkmenistan it was but 0.7 per cent and in Tadzhikistan only one person in two hundred was literate.(8)

The post-revolutionary period in Central Asia was marked by chaos prevailing in all aspects of its life including education. The Soviet authorities realized the advisability of educating the Central Asians and one of the most important considerations was political. In this connexion a particularly interesting article by S. Dimanshteyn on the education of Soviet national minorities appeared in NOVYY VOSTOK in 1929. Apparently written by a Communist, it has the air of a frank discussion of the problem, which compares favourably with the dogmatism and sterotyped phraseology of later Soviet publications. The author says: "All the main border regions of the Soviet Union are inhabited by non-Russian peoples. . . The safety of our frontiers depends not only on the strength of the Red Army but also on the loyalty of the frontier population to the Soviet Government. In this field much can be achieved by a correct nationalities policy, i.e. one whose task is to unite these nationalities into a single whole. This will strengthen and stabilize our frontiers and decrease the danger of war." Economic development of these regions, involving the need for native specialists, was designed to serve the same purpose: "From the economic point of view, industrialization of these republics as well as their fuel and raw material resources, are moulding our Union into a single organism able to build socialism irrespective of any aid from more developed regions and even in spite of the aspirations of the capitalist world seeking to isolate us and to check our development." These considerations make special demands upon the character of the education of the minorities: "The problem must not be limited to international education within the republics; the task is to bring about national raprochement of all the nations of the USSR. Our school textbooks must be suitably imbued with international spirit."(9) In other words, the Central Asians owe their education to motives more substantial than a mere friendly disposition of the Russian people towards them.

The task of replacing the various pre-revolutionary schools in Central Asia with a uniform education system was formidable. The greatest difficulty was presented by the lack of teachers since employing the maktab masters was out of the question. There were cases of men who worked as lecturers while themselves studying to become teachers. For example, Kary-Niyazov says that while in 1918 he was headmaster of a school at Fergana, he took mathematics lessons from the headmaster of the local Russian school and at the same time acted as a lecturer in mathematics at teachers' training courses.(10) Such courses were organized for people who were literate and politically sound; but the result was disappointing since a large number of the teachers were of a very poor intellectual and political standard. To remedy this, the Turkestan National Commissariat of Education carried out in 1923 an examination of teachers in order to determine their professional qualifications. The teachers were divided into eight categories with a careful distinction between their intellectual and political merits - thus to the fourth category belonged people with a satisfactory educational background but requiring political training, and to the eighth "unworthy elements" who were to be dis-

missed. The political examination of Kirgiz teachers was based on the "political minimum as presented by Kovalenko's book POLITGRAMOTA (Political Catechism)".(11) But the purge did not help much and as late as 1929 NOVYY VOSTOK complained that in many republics the "insufficiently literate" masters constituted 70-80 per cent of all teachers and that many of those who had finished the six-month courses were not even familiar with elementary arithmetic.(12)

The situation was still bad in the years following the introduction of compulsory elementary education in 1930, though by then Central Asian training colleges were producing teachers who had received a more thorough training than those prepared by the six-month courses. The situation in Uzbekistan may be quoted as an example: some geography masters of Tashkent thought there were between three and seven continents in the world and, confronted with a map, they took the Aral Sea for the Mediterranean. The headmaster of a school at Balakandab, when asked what teaching methods he knew, answered, "I follow the polytechnic, excursion, and cotton-picking as well as the reading and writing methods".(13)

Another difficulty was that until the early 1930s there were no standard textbooks. The situation was not so bad in the Russian schools in Central Asia, which could use the books published in Russia proper, but the native schools used books which were full of "ideological and scientific errors" and contaminated with nationalist propaganda. Reform started when in 1933 the Central Committee of the Party issued the resolution concerning the elementary and middle school textbooks. The republican authorities drew up plans of producing the textbooks but it gave no immediate results - for example, in 1934 it was officially stated in Uzbekistan that by the 1st May only five textbooks out of the planned 114 had been published. By the autumn of the same year 37 books saw the light, but some of them were full of various errors including spelling mistakes.(14) These and other shortcomings were responsible for many difficulties in the work of the schools; for example, the "enemies of the people" seriously disturbed the teaching of Russian. These enemies were accounted to be the schoolmasters who deliberately neglected the teaching of Russian, hindered the training of teachers of that language and even interfered with the publication of textbooks. A "liquidation of sabotage in the system of national education" followed and it is claimed that the teaching of Russian benefited as a result(15), but, as will be seen in Part Two* of this article, it even now leaves much to be desired although it is certain that no "enemies of the people" could have had a chance to survive until the present time.

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* Part Two of this article, "The Soviet Period Since 1945", will appear in the next number of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW.

The teaching of the native languages and literatures are said to have suffered from two groups of evil characters: one was constituted by the bourgeois-nationalist teachers who were not familiar with the new Latin alphabet and engaged in campaigns in favour of the Arabic alphabet, propagated among the pupils harmful nationalist books and did not acquaint them with the works of "progressive" authors; the other group were teachers innocent of any sinister designs and simply ignorant so far as their subject was concerned.

A serious difficulty in the years following the revolution was that there were hardly any buildings fit to be used as schools. Though Kary-Niyazov assures the reader that "the Soviet authorities generously reserved for schools the better buildings in towns and villages"(16), NOVYY VOSTOK unequivocally states that some schools were only "fit for cattle" and that "very few new schools were being built and sometimes mosques were converted into schools", though from the point of view of hygiene they were totally unsuitable; this makes one wonder "whether there is a school at all, whether what there is could possibly be described as school, and whether this type of teacher could be called teacher".(17)

In order to make education more general, not only "reactionary" elements had to be suppressed but also parents re-educated, for protests against boys and girls studying together as well as against the education of girls were common. The situation was made still worse by the interference of bays, bourgeois-nationalists and other "enemies of the people" who "spread all sorts of provocative gossip against the Soviet school, and beat up pupils and their parents. . ." But in spite of all the difficulties the new school system expanded rapidly and by the later 1920s the old religious schools had died out. Whether this was due to the fact that they "had lost their authority in the eyes of the toiling masses" or, simply to the persecution of the clergy is difficult to say.(18)

The growth of the Soviet school is borne out by the following figures provided by the GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, 2nd edition:

Republic	Date	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Per cent of native pupils
Kazakhstan	1920-1	2,410	144,000	
	1927	3,944	274,000	over 30
	1932-3	6,869	576,000	about 40
	1951-2	8,945	1,346,000	
Kirgizia	1930	1,159	100,000	
	1952	1,627	315,000	
Turkmenistan	1924	170	16,900	
	1955	1,184	224,721	
Uzbekistan	1924-5	908	75,543	
	1940-1	4,838	1,306,100	
Tadzhikistan	1924-5	66	3,759	
	1954-5	2,529	320,552	

In the 1920s technical schools began to appear in Central Asia as part of the campaign for the "victory of Socialism", i.e. industrialization. They were accompanied by various research institutes. The growth of universities was much slower: the Central Asian University in Tashkent was founded in 1920; in 1933 a university was set up in Samarkand, in 1934 in Alma-Ata, in 1948 in Stalinabad, in 1950 in Ashkhabad and in 1951 in Frunze; but various higher education establishments existed before the majority of the universities appeared.

The expansion of the Soviet school alone was insufficient to strengthen Soviet influence on the Central Asians. The liquidation of illiteracy among the adult population was also a political necessity according to Lenin. In his own words, "so long as such a problem as illiteracy exists in our country, the discussion of political enlightenment is too difficult. . . The illiterate man is outside politics. . ."(19) In December 1920 the Regional Extraordinary Commission for Combating Illiteracy was set up and similar commissions appeared in the provinces. Special courses were organiz-

ed throughout the country; their popularity may be inferred from the fact that in January 1921, in Tashkent alone 100 such courses were started. By the end of 1923 there were 29 courses with 870 students in Kirgizia.(20) The spread of literacy was stimulated by the introduction of compulsory elementary education in 1930 and by 1936 as much as 70 per cent of the adult population of Kirgizia were literate.(21)

The campaign against illiteracy was assisted by the growth of the vernacular press and printing. The first Tadzhik newspaper, OVOZI TODZHIK (The Voice of the Tadzhiks) started publication in 1924; in the following year the Tadzhik State Publishing House was founded and from that date the publication of books and periodicals rapidly increased. In 1925 Uzbekistan had 26 newspapers but the number of Uzbek papers is not given; in 1927, 831 books were published, as compared with 9 in 1917.(22) By 1925 two newspapers and three magazines, two of them in Turkmen, were being published in Turkmenistan; printing in Turkmen had started in 1921 and school books together with political pamphlets were the earliest publications in that language. In 1924 the first Kirgiz newspaper, ERKIN-TOO (Free Mountains) appeared and two years later it was followed by the earliest Kirgiz books. As for Kazakhstan, it seems that the earliest vernacular newspapers were KEDEY SYUZI published at Omsk, KAZAKH TLI at Semipalatinsk, KZYL TU at Ural'sk, and some other oblast papers.

These developments were accompanied by the russification of the native languages. The "Soviet-international" words which have "enriched" the Central Asian languages can be roughly divided into two groups: those connected with the sciences and the words concerned with the Soviet version of political and economic life (kolkhoz, party, bolshevik, agitator etc.). Uzbekistan may be taken as an example and the following passage reveals clearly - though perhaps unintentionally - the aims of Soviet linguistic policy:

> "The bourgeois-nationalists littered the Uzbek language with various Arabic, Persian and Turkish words which were unintelligible to the masses. At the same time they struggled against borrowing from Russian, which in fact was the nearest language to the Uzbek people owing to political, economic and cultural conditions. But the Uzbek language continued to free itself from Arabic and Persian words which were foreign to it, and to enrich itself by borrowing from Russian. . .
>
> "According to the researches of Professor A.K. Borovkov, the results of which were published on 15th March 1923 in the newspaper ZERAVSHAN, the percentage of words of Arabic and Persian origin was then 37.4 while those of Soviet-international and Russian origin constituted but 2 per cent. Four years later, in 1927, an Uzbek-Russian dictionary was

published; according to this, the number of Arabic and Persian words had sunk to 28.6 per cent, while that of Soviet-international and Russian words increased to 4.07 per cent. Yet after seven years, in 1934, the words of Arabic and Persian origin constituted but 12 per cent of all the words used in four issues of a republican newspaper, KZYL UZBEKISTAN."(23)

Another important feature of the policy of isolating Central Asia from the Islamic world were the two changes of the alphabet. In 1928-9 the Latin alphabet replaced the Arabic in spite of violent protests of the "enemies of the people". But this did not help the Central Asians to feel that they were members of an international state and in 1939-40 the Cyrillic alphabet ousted the Latin. This step was justified in Uzbekistan in the following words:

"The Uzbek language is enriched every year with new words which have been produced by the Soviet epoch. The existing Latin alphabet is no longer in line with the development of the language and it is in fact an obstacle to the further development of the culture of the Uzbek people. The new alphabet will make it possible to establish an orderly system of Uzbek orthography and thereby to eradicate the existing confusion. Moreover, the unification of the alphabet will improve our printing facilities".(24)

Another advantage was that this use of the Cyrillic alphabet would make the study of Russian easier for native school children. The practical result of this measure will be discussed in Part Two of this article.

Soviet authorities are extremely sensitive to any criticism on the subject of cultural developments in Central Asia, particularly where these relate to the russification of local languages and the learning of Russian. A detailed answer to such criticism was pronounced by a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Rakhimbabayeva, at a republican conference devoted to the problem of teaching Uzbek at schools held in Tashkent in August 1957: "Let various gentlemen abroad say what they like about our study of the Russian language," she said, "the dogs bark, but the caravan moves on."(25)

By the beginning of the Second World War the development of the new Soviet-Russian culture was far advanced in Central Asia. The educational system had managed to overcome many of its initial difficulties and the battle against illiteracy was almost won. In Part Two of this article an attempt will be made to point to some of the ways in which the new standard

and impersonal culture is imposing itself on the life of the peoples of Central Asia and is substituting uniformity for variety.

Notes

(1) KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 25.9.58.

(2) OCHERKI ISTORII KUL'TURY SOVETSKOGO UZBEKISTANA. T.N. Kary-Niyazov, Moscow, 1955. p.55.

(3) Ibid., pp.56, 60.

(4) Ibid., p.58.

(5) OCHERKI PO ISTORII SOVETSKOY SHKOLY V KIRGIZII ZA 40 LET (1917-1957 GG.). A.E. Izmailov, Frunze, 1957. p.14.

(6) Kary-Niyazov, p.65.

(7) Ibid., p.66.

(8) GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, 2nd edn.; Kary-Niyazov, p.60.

(9) NOVYY VOSTOK, 1929, p.xlvii.

(10) Kary-Niyazov, p.140.

(11) Izmailov, p.83.

(12) NOVYY VOSTOK, p.xxxviii.

(13) IZ ISTORII STROITEL'STVA SOVETSKOY SHKOLY V UZBEKISTANE. S. Radzhabov, Tashkent, 1957. p.32.

(14) Ibid., p.45.

(15) Ibid., pp.41-42.

(16) Kary-Niyazov, p.139.

(17) NOVYY VOSTOK, p.xxxviii.

(18) Kary-Niyazov, pp.136, 158.

(19) Ibid., p.151.

(20) Izmailov, p.108.

(21) GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA, 2nd edn. Vol.21, p.92.

(22) Ibid., Vol.44, p.30.

(23) Radzhabov, pp.106-7.

(24) Ibid., p.116.

(25) PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 31.8.57.

Oxford students visit Central Asia

Members of Ruskin College, Oxford, recently visited Central Asia. In an interview with the Uzbek Telegraph Agency, N.D. Harry, the leader of the delegation said that from what he had read in the West about Uzbekistan he gained the impression that it was a backward corner of the Soviet Union. He now saw that this was far from the truth and that Uzbekistan had undergone large-scale changes. The students left Tashkent for Moscow on the 25th September. PV. 26.9.59

Tunisian historian visits Uzbekistan

Abdul Wahhab, the Tunisian historian, arrived in Tashkent on the 26th September. He will spend several days acquainting himself with the work of the various institutes of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences. PV. 27.9.59

Study of air-streams over the Karakum desert

A scientific expedition of over 70 members from the A.I. Voyeykov Main Geophysical Observatory left Leningrad for Tashkent on 29th August to study vertical air-streams over the Karakum desert. The expedition has been equipped with an aeroplane and a helicopter. PV. 30.8.59

THE REVOLUTION OF 1905-7 IN TURKMENISTAN

The fourth volume of WORKS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences, published at Ashkhabad in 1958*, is devoted to the history of the 1905-7 revolution, with a special reference to Turkmenistan. Two of the articles it contains are concerned respectively with the influence of those events in Russia on the peoples of the non-Russian East and those in Turkmenistan on Persia. The other three are of a special interest to students of Central Asian affairs, not only because they give between them a fairly clear picture of the revolution in Turkmenistan and, apart from the customary deference to Soviet leaders, propaganda does not seem to be their chief object, but also because the information they contain is well documented, though apparently only in so far as it agrees with their authors' conception of the subject. The first of them, "The Revolutionary Movement in Turkmenistan (Transcaspian Oblast) in 1905-1907" by Yu.M. Tarasov, gives a general account of the subject and it thus serves as an introduction to the articles which follow. The next two are concerned with special aspects of the movement. One is M. Annanepesov's "Social Democratic Propaganda and Agitation among the Soldiers of Turkmenistan Garrisons during the Revolutionary Years 1905-1907", and the other is "The Mutiny of the Soldiers of the Ashkhabad Garrison in 1906" by E. Kuprikova. They contain a good deal of repetition, which could hardly be avoided in view of the fact that their subjects overlap and that each of them has been done by a different author. They are supplemented by two sets of source material: one, with an introduction by B. Kurbanov, relates to the strike of the workers of the Central Asian Railway in November-December 1905 and the other, introduced by G.B. Akopov, to the strike of the Caspian sailors at Krasnovodsk in the spring of 1907.

Tarasov's article starts at the very beginning - with the customary list of advantages which Turkmenistan derived from the progressive act of its "incorporation" into Russia. One of those benefits was that the Turkmens could join in the "revolutionary struggle of the Russian working-class in Russia proper and her borderlands".(p.5) This statement is of special interest to historians of Central Asia; but if subsequently Tarasov

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* TRUDY INSTITUTA ISTORII ARKHEOLOGII I ETHNOGRAFII, Vol.IV, Ashkhabad, 1958.

does not exactly contradict it, he also does very little to justify it. From what he says one could safely infer that the 1905-7 disturbances in Turkmenistan were a movement confined to the local Russian proletariat.

The working-class of Turkmenistan was unorganized: "In 1905 in the Transcaspian oblast there were ten cotton-ginning plants, four oil-mills and soap factories, one salt plant and one brick factory, a wool-washing establishment, one confectionery, five factories for the manufacture of mineral water, and four steam mills"(p.6). The workers of the Central Asian (Trans-Caspian) Railway constituted the largest and most politically united group.

"The conditions of work in Tsarist Russia, and even more in her colonies one of which was the Transcaspian oblast, were very hard. The working day lasted 12-13 hours and wages were low. Until 1914 there was no factory inspection in the Transcaspian oblast."

Apart from workers, another compact mass of the Russians in the country was the army. There were some 30,000 soldiers in Transcaspia; the majority of them belonged to the Turkestan Second Army Corps and they were concentrated in towns and fortresses: Ashkhabad, Merv, Kerki, Kushka, Chardzhuy, Krasnovodsk, Serakhs and others. "The conditions of life and work of the troops were incredibly hard: cheating, bribery, threats etc. were used to keep the soldiers in the most complete subordination and ignorance. They were used for a variety of jobs such as building, haymaking and anti-locust campaigns, and the money they earned disappeared into the officers' pockets. That the soldier was without any rights was evident everywhere: they were usually referred to as "lower ranks" and officers called them "grey cattle" or "saintly cattle". They were forbidden to visit parks and clubs in towns as well as meetings and other gatherings. . . The great majority of the men were illiterate because the Tsarist army was recruited from among the most backward groups of the peasantry; they were deliberately selected in such a way as to reject, kill and suppress all that was fresh and vigorous. Thus the state of literacy among the men of the Turkestan Second Army Corps on the 1st of January 1910 is summarized by the following figures: totally illiterate - 3,805, those who could only read badly - 8,473. Here one must remember that the Tsarist army authorities always considerably reduced such figures and that the above figures refer to the year 1910 while during the revolutionary years 1905-1907 the degree of literacy among the soldiers was considerably smaller."(Pp.28-29.) Sickness involving epidemic diseases and mortality was high among the troops. There was national discrimination since the Transcaspian army consisted of Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Georgians, Armenians and men from the Baltic regions.

Socially there was much difference between the various units: rifle battalions and other field units consisted of peasants while the railway, sapper and signal units were recruited from among young workers and so were

TURKESTAN
at the beginning of the twentieth century

Based on map in *Revolyutsiya 1905 - 1907 godov v Turkestane*, by A. V. Pyaskovskiy (Moscow, 1958).

Administrative division of Turkestan

I. Syr-Dar'ya Oblast.
1. Tashkent Uyezd
2. Chimkent "
3. Auliye-Ata "
4. Perovsk "
5. Kazalinsk "
6. Amu-Dar'ya Otdel

II. Samarkand Oblast.
7. Dzhizak Uyezd
8. Katta-Kurgan Uyezd
9. Samarkand Uyezd
10. Khodzhent Uyezd

III. Fergana Oblast.
11. Kokand Uyezd
12. Margelan "
13. Namangan "
14. Andizhan "
15. Osh "
16. Pamir

IV. Transcaspian Oblast.
17. Mangyshlak Uyezd
18. Krasnovodsk "
19. Askhabad "
20. Tedzhen "
21. Merv "

V. Semirech'ye Oblast.
22. Vernyy Uyezd
23. Pishpek "
24. Przheval'sk Uyezd
25. Dzharkent "
26. Kopal "
27. Lepsinsk "

40 0 40 80 120 160 200 Klms.

more prone to revolutionary propaganda.

The hard conditions in the army prepared the way for revolutionary propaganda. Its success was largely due to the fact that the Tsarist government banished to Turkestan politically undesirable elements and made them join the army or otherwise stay at a fixed place under police supervision. In 1903-4 alone 67 men were sent to Turkestan, of whom the majority had been engaged in receiving and spreading illegal revolutionary literature. In the middle of 1905 there were 27 such men in the army units stationed at Kushka and Krasnovodsk(p.30). But "the propagation of social democratic ideas amongst the soldiers started comparatively later than among the Transcaspian workers. Marxist-Leninist propaganda in the towns of Turkmenistan expanded immediately after the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party [1903] by means of leaflets supplied from Baku, but we have hardly any documentary evidence which would allow us authoritatively to state that it likewise increased among the soldiers."(Pp.30-31.) The first social democratic leaflets appeared among them and the Amu-Dar'ya sailors in 1904.

The highlights of the disturbances of 1905-7 in Turkmenistan are two big strikes - the railway workers in November-December 1905 and the Krasnovodsk sailors and dockers in March-April 1907 - and one mutiny, that of the soldiers of the Ashkhabad garrison in June 1906. All these men demanded better conditions of work and it seems doubtful whether their activities, at least at their early stage, can be properly described as revolutionary. It seems that the only ground to do so was the fact that they were skilfully exploited by the Social Democrats, who supplied them with anti-government slogans and other accessories of a communist revolution. On the other hand even the Tsarist government, possibly misled by similar events taking part in politically more advanced regions of the Russian Empire, right from the start identified the disturbances in Transcaspia as a revolutionary movement. Thus in July 1905 the Governor-General of Turkestan reported, "the disturbances taking place in the central provinces and Transcaucasia are responsible for the fact that the Transcaspian oblast and particularly Ashkhabad have gradually developed into a large and undoubtedly dangerous centre of revolutionary activities. . . . the revolutionaries maintain constant and apparently well-organized relations with the treasonable associations of Baku"(p.49).

After the events of 9th January 1905 at St.Petersburg the Transcaspian branch of the Social Democratic Party (RSDRP) grew increasingly active. On 12th January copies of a proclamation of the RSDRP condemning war and autocracy were dropped at the door of the office of the governor of the Transcaspian oblast. From now onwards events moved slowly towards the railway strike. In April-May the Social Democrats sponsored the strike of shop assistants at Ashkhabad, who demanded an eight-hour working day, Sundays off, a month's holiday a year and a month's salary in case of illness. May Day

was celebrated with mass meetings at Kizyl-Arvat and Ashkhabad. At the latter place the Social Democrats organized a meeting in the Tekeh orchards (tekinskiye sady) outside the town; it was attended mainly by workers and soldiers and the speakers demanded destruction of autocracy. In July the funeral of a Social Democrat, Stabrovskiy, who had died in the Ashkhabad prison, was accompanied by a political demonstration. From this time the distribution of revolutionary leaflets and posters in the towns grew more frequent. In August a strike of the workers of the railway depot at Ashkhabad followed; they demanded their overdue wages. At the same time propaganda among the troops was more efficiently organized when a Social Democratic committee was set up at Ashkhabad for that purpose. It skilfully endowed the common grievances of the soldiers with a political flavour to turn them against the Government; a typical example of this metho is the leaflet K SOLDATAM (An Address to the Soldiers) which the committee issued on 28th August.

The disturbances in Transcaspia reached their highest point in October-November when the railway and other workers joined the all-Russian strike. It started on 14th October with the strike of the Ashkhabad railway workers and pupils of the railway college. The workers submitted to General Ul'yanin, the head of the Central Asian Railway, their demands for an eight-hour working day and freedom of speech, press and assembly. The strike was accompanied by meetings and demonstrations carefully fostered by the Social Democrats and joined by large groups of soldiers. Between 20th-22nd October the students of the Ashkhabad technical college and secondary schools (gimnazisty) joined the strikers; the parents of the latter demanded that the headmaster and the inspector of the boys' and the headmistress of the girls' schools should be dismissed on the ground that they taught children to be spies.

On 26th October the railway strike ended and, apart from minor incident the following three weeks were relatively quiet. But on 15th-16th November General Sakharov had the soldiers of the Tashkent Reserve Battalion, who had rebelled at Tashkent fortress, shot and this provoked a new wave of disturbances. Kurbanov uses curious phrases which are probably designed to convey some subtle difference between the two phases of the autumn uprising the "October general strike" (stachka) and the "November general political strike" (zabastovka)(p.113). The latter was not limited to the Central Asia Railway but extended to the Orenburg-Tashkent Line and represented the highest point of the 1905-7 disturbances in Turkestan. In Transcaspia the strike was headed by the central committee of the Union of Workers and Employees of the Central Asian Railway. Its character is somewhat mysterious; while Kurbanov says that its members were derived mainly from petty bourgeoisie willing to co-operate with the authorities and he denounces it for having brought the strike to a premature end on 3rd December (pp.115-18) Tarasov admits that in the committee there were many Mensheviks who ended th strike in order to avoid an armed rebellion, but otherwise he gives no

indication that they wished to please the authorities and admits that they did useful work by encouraging the railwaymen of the Transcaspian towns to join the strikers (pp.17-19). In fact they were joined by some groups of workers and the soldiers of Kushka.

The 3rd of December was followed by a wave of repressions against the strikers. From now onwards the revolution had little chance of success for after the failure of the December insurrection in Russia proper "autocracy and the bourgeoisie started an offensive against the proletariat and peasantry"(p.19). But on the 9th of January 1906 there was a one-day strike at Ashkhabad and ten days later the workers of the Ashkhabad and Kizyl-Arvat depots on their own initiative introduced an eight-hour working day. In March the Transcaspian railwaymen refused to take part in the elections to the first Duma, on the ground that the Duma had almost no legislative powers, the existing system of voting did not allow real representatives of the people to be elected and the Tsar's autocracy remained unchanged. In July another important event of the revolutionary years in Transcaspia took place - the mutiny of over 6,000 soldiers of the Ashkhabad garrison. The immediate occasion was provided by a summary court-martial (batal'onnyy sud) which had sentenced three men to be sent to a disciplinary battalion. The rebels submitted to their commander a list of 35 demands directed against the numerous abuses from which the soldiers suffered.

After the mutiny a period of relative peace followed. One of the last episodes of the revolutionary years was the strike of the Krasnovodsk sailors in the spring of 1907, which was part of the general strike of the Caspian merchant fleet belonging to a number of companies. The men were seeking to improve their conditions of life and work, for the length of the working day was not fixed so that they were made to perform extra jobs without pay both on board ship and in the private homes of their superiors, their wages were very small and they had no holidays or Sundays off. Beginning on 10th March, the strike was joined by the Krasnovodsk dockers and lasted nearly two months; it was led by the Social Democratic committee at Baku.

. . .

It is interesting to examine to what extent, if at all, the Turkmens participated in the events of 1905-7. Apparently it is de rigueur to state that they wholeheartedly joined the movement. Tarasov remembers this rule and this is why his account of the alleged revolutionary activities of the Turkmens is self-contradictory. First he gives a brief account of the oppression they suffered under the Tsars: they were forced to surrender some of their land to colonists, cheated and exploited by officialdom; at the same time "the Tsarist Government. . . always safeguarded the medieval,

archaic structure of the aul and the domination of feudal and clan notables" (p.6). The native population of the Transcaspian oblast "had no political rights. Tsarism also suppressed the development of schools and the vernacular press. The people were almost totally illiterate"(p.7).

The natural conclusion to be derived from this is that "the difficult situation of the worker and peasant masses of Turkmenistan caused them to join the struggle against Tsarism and the bourgeoisie. . . Under the influence of the workers' movement unrest started among the Turkmen peasants" Whether it in fact owed anything to the inspiration of the local Russians is difficult to say; the fact is that in February 1904 the peasant members of one of the Yamut tribes in the Krasnovodsk uyezd refused to pay their overdue taxes and in the following June the Yamuts of the Atabay No.2 obshchestvo (? community) declined to supply 870 saddled camels with drivers as the authorities required. These two incidents make Tarasov draw the following conclusion: "In this way the Turkmen people joined together with the Russian proletariat in the revolutionary movement". But subsequently he gives very weak evidence to prove this statement. One infers from his article that at the time when the movement was at its height in the Transcaspian oblast, that is in October-November 1905, the Turkmens were quiet. Only by the end of the year does the spirit of unrest seem to have communicated itself to the Yamuts - on 29th December it was reported to General Subotich, the Governor-General of Turkestan, that lively propaganda had been started among the Yamuts; he issued orders that the agitators should be suppressed and counter-propaganda should be entrusted to people familiar with the native language(pp.23-24). It is unknown how far this reflected the true situation in the auls but the quality of this propaganda makes one wonder about the alleged comradeship existing between the Yamuts and the revolutionary Russian proletariat. Only in 1906 did the Turkmens hear a highly fantastic version of what was going on and rumour started in the auls of the Krasnovodsk uyezd, inhabited by the Yamuts, that "some large tribe in Russia called Muzhik sent spokesmen to the brother of the White Tsar to tell him that they were not pleased with the government. . . but the brother of the White Tsar drove them out and sent troops to punish their people. So now in Russia war is going on between the Tsar's army and the Muzhik"(p.24). This story certainly does not point to the presence of revolutionary agitators in the auls. Another would-be revolutionary was one Khalsakhat Komek-ogly of Koyne Kasir aul who advised the elders of two obshchestvos to stop extorting loans from the people because there were disturbances in Russia and it was possible that the authorities would shortly stop demanding the loans. The same man betrayed sympathy with the real or imagined desire of some Turkmen obshchestvos for the distribution of the local kyarendnyye lands among landless families.

Tarasov has advanced this flimsy evidence, which is moreover limited to a single Turkmen tribe, in order to lend substance to his theory of the Turkmen participation in the revolution. But his case is seriously weakened by a contradiction: first he states that "during the first Russian revolution the

Social Democratic organizations in the Transcaspian oblast had only weak connections with the Turkmen daykhans"(p.23); and then as one of the reasons for the failure of the revolution he gives the fact that "the uprising of the workers was not supported by the daykhans in the auls"(p.27).

Train-ferry service between Baku and Krasnovodsk

A train-ferry service is to be opened between Baku and Krasnovodsk for which the necessary shore installations are at present being built.

The ships used will have a displacement of about 2,250 tons and will be able to take 30 four-axle or 56 two-axle railway coaches and provide accommodation for 300 passengers. The round trip, including loading and unloading, will be three times faster than in the present passenger ships.
TI. 26.8.59

Atomic energy in Uzbekistan

The Uzbek atomic reactor, reported in CAR, Vol.VII, No.3, p.212, was put into operation on the 10th September 1959. It is merely the first stage of the "atomic town" being built by the Uzbek Institute of Nuclear Physics not far from Tashkent near the village of Kilbray. Of the equipment which is to be installed later the largest item will be a cyclotron of the most modern construction. There will also be a neutron laboratory and a grading tower.

A conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy will open in Tashkent on the 28th September. PV. 11, 16, 17.9.59

THE FIRST RUSSIAN EMBASSY TO TASHKENT

The following is a summary of an article by Yu.A. Sokolov, which appeared under the above title in VOPROSY ISTORII, 1959, No.3.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Khiva and Bukhara were the only centres of the Uzbek khanates to be visited by Russian ambassadors. The first Russian embassy to Tashkent arrived in 1796, thus establishing diplomatic relations between Russia and the rulers of that city. The special interest of the embassy derives from the fact that it marked a change in the relations between Central Asia and Russia. Source material on the 1796 embassy, hitherto not generally known, shows that at the turn of the eighteenth century economic, cultural and political relations between Russia and Tashkent were growing closer. The main source relating to this embassy forms part of the Tashkent Affairs file of the Central State Archives of the Internal Affairs and Internal Policy of Russia. Other authorities, particularly Muhammad Salih Qari Tashkendi, the author of NEW HISTORY OF TASHKENT, say that at the end of the eighteenth century the rulers of Tashkent tried to establish closer relations with Russia and some of their subjects regarded the rapprochment as a chance of bringing about economic revival and of preserving the independence of Tashkent.

Tashkent had been for centuries an important centre of trade between the agricultural and cattle-breeding areas of Central Asia, while its strategic importance was due to its position in the Chirchik valley, a gateway to the lands between the Syr-Dar'ya and the Amu-Dar'ya.

Yunus Khodzha, ruler of Tashkent since 1784, wished to extend trade relations with Russia and to this end he sent in 1794 a letter to the Siberian Administration (sibirskaya administratsiya). The matter was duly reported by the head of the Siberian Line, Lieutenant-General Shtrandman, to the government, which instructed him to send a letter and ambassadors to Tashkent for negotiations and to check the truth of "rumours coming here, and to find out how abundant was the gold ore found in that land".(1)

In November 1794 the ambassadors, Sergeant (serzhant) A.S. Beznosikov and obershikhtmeyster T.S. Burnashev, set out. Instead of following the direct Tashkent caravan route, the Governor-General of Siberia directed them to travel via Orenburg and call on the way on Shah Murad, the Emir of

Bukhara, and Khudoyarbek, the Ruler of Khodzhent, and on their way back to visit the Kazakh Bukey Sultan. But at Bukhara the letters and gifts which the Russians had prepared for those dignitaries were confiscated and they were forbidden to continue the journey on the ground that "the addressees, although they in a way acknowledge their subjection to the Khan of Bukhara, for diverse reasons bear a grudge against him and wish evil".(2)

Shtrandman, however, did not give up the scheme and decided to send another embassy directly to Tashkent. Bukey Sultan (head of the Karakisetskaya volost), one of the sultans of the Middle Horde, was asked to provide the ambassadors with guards and a guide. The richness of the gifts sent to him induced him to appoint his own son, Ishim Sultan, and two other men to conduct the Russians to Tashkent. There were two ambassadors, Beznosikov, who was appointed for the second time, and Second-Lieutenant Dmitriy Telyatnikov, ataman of the Cossack troops; they were accompanied by Corporal (kapral) Ya. Bykov, a Siberian Cossack, who acted as their guide.

The year 1796 is one of the most important dates in the history of eighteenth century Tashkent, not only because it is the date of the first Russian embassy to arrive there but also because it marks the beginning of the political gravitation of the Tashkent state towards Russia, on whose patronage local merchants and craftsmen placed their hopes for a better future.

The Russians received a friendly welcome and were allowed to move freely in the land of Yunus Khodzha in order to gather information about its economic position and its possibilities of establishing closer trade relations with Russia. One of the results of this was a very interesting description of the Tashkent state written by Telyatnikov. The document has hitherto been unknown to historians and in spite of the fact that the preserved copy is incomplete, is one of the most important Russian sources on the history of eighteenth century Tashkent:

"Statement by Second-Lieutenant, Cossack ataman Telyatnikov.

"1. The city of Tashkent lies in a valley near a mountain called Alatau from which a small river, the Chirchik, flows. Canals conduct its water to nourish the fields and supply the population of the city. Its buildings are of clay excepting the mosques and public schools called medrese. There are about seven thousand private houses.

"2. To the aforesaid Tashkent belong two fairly large towns, Chimkent and Saram, and small towns: Niyasbek, Altyn tyubya, Karabulak, Sarapan and Temir, and some ten villages. It takes a three or four days' journey, covering fifty versts a day, to reach one of those places which lies farthest from the city.

"3. There are about ten thousand people in Tashkent itself and about three thousand in the larger and smaller towns, some thirteen thousand altogether.

"4. The Khan's army in Tashkent and the rest of the country amounts to some two thousand men, the majority of them fugitives of various nationalities, that is Kalmyks, Uzbeks, men of Kukan [Kokand], Khodzhent and Bukhara; natives of Tashkent are very scarce amongst them. The troops have three kinds of weapons: some have been armed by the Turks according to their habit with firearms without locks and with slow matches, others have bows and arrows or spears and sabres. They are supported by the Khan.

"5. The Khan of Tashkent also has some very light artillery consisting of some twenty cast iron and iron cannon which are carried by camels and used against enemy raids.

"6. Gunpowder is manufactured by the men of Tashkent and saltpetre is here very abundant and productive (bogatogo soderzhaniya). Lead is brought from Turkestan for the local supply is very small. It is smelted at Tashkent.

"7. In the past Tashkent suffered many afflictions because of abuses and internecine dissensions; it was governed by four dignitaries until the coming of the present ruler, Yunus Khodzha, whose title was eventually changed to that of khan. He overthrew his four predecessors and assumed the aforesaid khan's rank, which he has kept now for twenty years. This office is not hereditary. Since his coming into power in the state of Tashkent the said Khan has conquered two strong volosts, the Kirgis-kaysatskiya [i.e. Kazakh] Yusunskaya and Chanch' kalinskaya. He has imposed on them a tribute of one sheep per yurt and an obligation to provide a required number of auxiliary troops in wartime.

"8. The said Khan has disputes with all the neighbouring rulers except that of Khodzhent [? Khadzhanskiy]. But one can hardly notice any further success of the Khan's arms. He has a sufficient amount of reserve provisions when one considers the size of his army.

"9. The state of Tashkent is rich in silk, cotton (khlopchataya bumaga), sorochinsk [? sorochinskoye] millet; also wheat, barley, buckwheat, spelt; as to fruit, there are grapes, apricots, walnuts; other fruits are apples, pears, musk- and water-melons.

"10. As regards our products (s nashey storony) the country needs iron, copper and soft leather which in fact are indispensable goods. They also buy woollen cloth. . ."(3)

The accuracy of Telyatnikov's observations is confirmed by other sources, both Russian (notes made by Pospelov and Burnashev during their visit to Tashkent in 1800) and Central Asian - NEW HISTORY OF TASHKENT, by Muhammad Salih Qari.

The source material relating to the embassy shows that the Russians acquired a good knowledge of the material resources of Tashkent: the report submitted by Shtrandman to the Tsar expressly states that "the alleged abundance of gold and iron ore has not been confirmed, but at some places they noticed traces of mining which suggested the presence of other metals, such as copper, lead and iron".(4) The talks the ambassadors had with Yunus Khodzha concerning the possibilities of trade between Russia and Tashkent were frank and highly satisfactory. Afterwards the State Chancellor of Russia wrote that the Khan had not concealed anything from the officer sent to him.(5)

Thanks to Telyatnikov's embassy the importance to Russia of Tashkent as a centre of international trade was clearly realized by the Siberian Administration. In a report of 9th September 1796 Shtrandman suggested that Russian trade with Tashkent could conveniently pass through the towns on the Siberian Line and he stressed its value, "this trade, started on a large scale within the borders of Tashkent, can doubtlessly before long create a similar sort of relationship not only with the people of the lands surrounding Tashkent - Kokand, Khodzhent and Bukhara - but also of other countries, even Tibet; moreover, goods can be received there from China".(6)

There are also indications that Yunus Khodzha asked for Russian help in improving local production of metals and for protection against China in case of war, but the ambassadors, in order not to exceed their powers apparently refused to commit themselves. Thus, when the Russians finally left Tashkent in June 1797, they were accompanied to Omsk by Mulla Dzhan Akhun Makhzum and Ashur Ali Bakhadur, ambassadors of Yunus Khodzha who were to submit the matter to the Tsar. Telyatnikov and his companions were appointed to bring them to St.Petersburg where they arrived at the end of October or beginning of November, the very moment when Paul I was reconsidering the aims of Russian internal policy. As it was expedient for the Asian Department of the Board of Foreign Affairs to acquaint itself first with the papers of Telyatnikov's mission, Khodzha's ambassadors were not officially received by the Tsar until 13th December.

Two documents delivered by the ambassadors to the Asian Department throw light on some of the problems of Tashkent and on the growing prestige of Russia there. The letter of Yunus Khodzha asks Russian help in developing the natural resources of Tashkent by sending there two Russian metallurgists and the statement of the ambassadors puts forward Yunus Khodzha's request for Russian protection should China attack Tashkent.(7) The latter was a delicate point from the Russian point of view since its

acceptance by Russia would oblige it to give military help to Tashkent while in fact she had no desire to endanger her good relations with China; secondly, the conclusion of an official agreement with Tashkent would imply that the Tsar had recognized it as a sovereign state, which could in future make the situation in Central Asia difficult for Russia. Moreover, in the above two documents no mention was made of what obligations Tashkent would assume towards Russia, especially in the matter of the safety of Russian merchants there. Thus the Russian Government was extremely cautious and, though in general it favoured the idea of establishing closer economic, cultural and political relations with Tashkent, it believed that the discussions should continue on a larger scale. Accordingly when on 16th March 1798 the ambassadors were leaving St.Petersburg, they received presents from the Tsar for their master but no definite promises.

The ambassadors delivered to Yunus Khodzha three letters: from Paul I, the State Chancellor A.A. Bezborodko, and "General-Major" Gorchakov, the new commander of the Siberian Line. Of those only the first had the status of an official document and it did not answer any of the problems submitted by the Tashkent ambassadors. Thus Russia avoided committing herself in matters which required further consideration, but the Russian point of view was expounded in the two other letters. Bezborodko emphasized the freedom and safety which Tashkent merchants enjoyed in the Empire, and said that Russian merchants would be allowed to go to Tashkent if its Government granted them similar facilities in an official document addressed to the Russian Government. He also promised that metallurgists would be sent to Tashkent and that Russia would help it in emergency.(8) Both letters revealed the good relations between Russia and China; it was pointed out that the Russian Government, knowing the peaceful disposition of China, believed that unprovoked she would not start war; and it recommended Yunus Khodzha to avoid occasions for friction; but should China attack, the Tsar would intervene on behalf of Tashkent. Gorchakov's letter added that, as at present there was no occasion for Russia to protect Tashkent, she considered it unnecessary to conclude a definite agreement to that effect.(9)

These documents show that at the end of the eighteenth century, although Russia avoided a military agreement with Tashkent, she on the whole adhered to her policy of broadening her relations with the Central Asian rulers. This view is confirmed by Bezborodko's letter of 9th March 1798 to Gorchakov in which it was recommended that the men sent to investigate the Tashkent deposits of ore, should be instructed to collect any information about the country which would be useful in the event of its ruler receiving from Russia the help he desired.(10) There is no specific mention of the need to collect military information - apparently it was expected that Russian troops would receive a friendly welcome there.

On 28th June 1800, two Russian mining engineers, M. Pospelov and T. Burnashev, arrived in Tashkent where they were ceremoniously received by

Yunus Khodzha. Their arrival opened a period of closer relations between Tashkent and Russia. The states of Central Asia maintained trade connections with Russia, but the ruler of Tashkent was the first to seek Russian help in developing the economy of his state.

Notes

(1) Central State Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SSSR (CGA MID SSSR), Tashkent Affairs file (FTD); document (d)3, fo.2.

(2) "Puteshestviye ot sibirskoy linii do goroda Bukhary v 1794 godu i obratno v 1795 godu", T.S. Burnashev. SIBIRSKIY VESTNIK, ed. G. Spasskiy, Pt.I. SPB., 1818, p.265.

(3) CGA MID SSSR, FTD, d.1, ff.8-8a.

(4) Ibid., d.3, fo.2a.

(5) Ibid., fo.11.

(6) Ibid., fo. 3.

(7) Ibid., d.6, ff.2-2a.

(8) Ibid., d.2, ff.11-11a.

(9) Ibid., d.3, ff.14-14a.

(10) Ibid., ff.11-11a.

SOME PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL* EDUCATION

By

N. Dzhandil'din

The following is an abridged version of an article which appeared in KOMMUNIST No.13, September 1959. It should be read in conjunction with another article by N. Dzhandil'din reproduced in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VI, No.1, pp.16-24. N. Dzhandil'din is Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

The present article contains many points of interest for students of Central Asian nationalism. (See also the article "'Nationalism' in the Soviet Muslim Republics" on p.341.) So-called bourgeois nationalist survivals are usually supposed to be confined to the older generation but it is shown here that they also persist among young people. The resistance of the peoples of the eastern republics to modernization, to the russianization of their languages and the use of Russian is attributed to objection to modernization in principle. The possibility that at least part of the resistance is not due to the process of modernization per se but to its introduction by an alien people is left entirely out of account. Treatment of the matter of great-power chauvinism, against which Lenin warned so strongly, is confined to two almost perfunctory references at the beginning and end of the article.

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* The Russian word used here is internatsional'nyy. When used with vospitaniye (education) as here, this word seems to refer only to the nationalities of the Soviet Union. The word mezhdunarodnyy is never used in this narrow sense, but only as referring to all the nations of the world.

The subject of the article is defined as the education of the man of the future communist society in loyalty to the Leninist principles of the unity of the socialist nations, in proletariat internationalism and in Soviet patriotism. Although the number of people who are still insufficiently informed on these matters and who adhere to outworn survivals is insignificant, they nonetheless interfere with the "international" education of the workers.

"The multi-national Soviet state provides a striking example of the wisest and justest solution of one of the most complicated problems of human life, the national problem." Giving Kazakhstan as an example of Soviet achievement in this respect, the article describes the economic and cultural advantages gained by the Kazakh people. The fact that these advantages could only have been gained with the assistance of the Russian people is strongly emphasized. It is precisely through jealousy of these achievements that the imperialist world is trying to besmirch the Soviet Union and to pretend that the peoples of Central Asia are hostile to the idea of communism and are struggling against the domination of the Russian communists. The manifest stupidity of the nauseating ideas contained in such books as TURKESTAN IN THE XXTH CENTURY by Baymirza Hayit, does not mean that every effort should not be made to defend the Leninist ideology of the friendship of the peoples against every attack. "This is necessary not only because imperialist reactionaries are continually trying to undermine the friendship existing among the Soviet peoples, but because there are still in our very midst relics of the old bourgeois views on the subject of relations between the nations, that is to say, nationalist survivals. They take the form not only of great-power chauvinism, but also of local nationalism. The first expresses itself in a desire to belittle the importance of the culture, language and traditions of the national minorities and to ignore the principles of national equality; and the second, in the tendency of individual nations to hold themselves aloof from the others and to retire into the shell of narrowly circumscribed interests.

"In Soviet society, where the fullest equality of the peoples has been realized, and where the people of the various nations constitute one brotherly family founded on Leninist principles of proletariat internationalism and the friendship of peoples, nationalist survivals cannot and do not take the form of an open struggle against the socialist commonwealth of nations. In practice these survivals find their expression first and foremost in localism (mestnichestvo).

"The development of the economy and culture of each Soviet republic is based on the one hand on the most effective use of its natural resources and on the other on the correct coordination of the interests of that republic and the country as a whole." The article goes on to discuss how these two objectives are to be attained, but observes that "people are occasionally met with who, if not openly then under cover, oppose the developments of the productive forces and the use of the natural resources of their republic

because they fear the participation in their affairs of the representatives of other friendly republics." The slightest tendency to this kind of thing by local workers should be regarded as a manifestation of nationalist narrow-mindedness and should be most vigorously opposed. If such a harmful tendency had gained the upper hand for example in Kazakhstan, it would not have been possible to carry out the grandiose task of mastering the Virgin Lands. Fortunately, however, the absolute majority of the Kazakh people responded to the desire of the Communist Party in this respect.

"National narrow-mindedness not infrequently shows itself in the violation of Leninist principles in the selection of cadres. A short while ago public opinion in the republic sharply condemned the expression by individual representatives of the intelligentsia of the opinion that in Kazakhstan only such persons should work in responsible posts who knew the Kazakh language, as if there was sone necessity to return to the policy of 'nativization' of the administrative machine which had been followed in the early years of Soviet power". (See CAR, Vol.VI, No.1, pp.16-24.)

"Our Party has always exercised the greatest care in the training and education of national cadres. This is the most important constituent part of Lenin's national policy. Special attention to the interests of separate nations, the necessity of which Lenin frequently underlined, has a direct relation to the question of selection of cadres. But this matter should not be understood only in a one-sided way. While demanding the care and attention of the Russian communists, the representatives of local nationalities are obliged in their turn to show in their own republics the same attentivness towards the representatives of the Russian and other nationalities.

"The Leninist principle in the selection of cadres in the conditions obtaining in the national republics has two sides to it: strict regard to the national composition of the population and the selection of cadres according to their political and practical qualities. These two sides are inseparably connected and cannot be divorced from each other. It is impossible to select cadres simply on the basis of their national qualities and without taking into consideration their practical and political qualities A member of any nationality can be put into any post provided that he is suitable in respect of his political and practical qualities. At the same time, in this important political matter the national feelings of the Soviet people should in no case be overlooked or ignored. This goes without exception for all nationalities living in any given republic.

"Before, when national cadres were in some cases weak, it was not always possible to combine the two things, but the position has now changed. Well trained cadres exist in sufficient number in every nationality. It is simply a question of studying and knowing them properly and of educating them in the spirit of Communist efficiency and Party principles".

Most of these nationalist prejudices find their expression in the ideological field, in science, literature, and art. This results in an exaggeration of the individual achievements in economy and culture of the various peoples and in a corresponding tendency to belittle the role of other nations. A great deal of work has been done in combating these tendencies. Nevertheless, cases are frequently encountered of national narrow-mindedness in the understanding and interpretation of problems relating to the development of national culture, and to national traditions and customs. "In our country, every people has exceptionally favourable opportunities for the universal development of its education and culture in its own native language. In our republic, for example, the bulk of Kazakh children study in the national schools in their own language. At the same time there is a well-known and natural urge on the part of all Soviet peoples to learn the Russian language and to master the achievement of the advanced Russian culture. The language of the great Russian people as the most powerful means of uniting the peoples of our country and of acquiring the higher flights of contemporary knowledge, technology and culture enjoys an enormous respect, and, among the Kazakh people especially, Russian has become their second mother tongue. Consequently, the Kazakhs willingly allow the teaching of the Russian language to their children. At the present time about a quarter of Kazakh children study in schools where instruction is carried on in the Russian language. Incidentally, there is no known case of compulsion." In a recent law passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic on the strengthening of the connection between the schools and life and on the further development of the system of popular education in the Kazakh SSR it was stated that "the learning of the Russian language in the schools with Kazakh or another language as the language of instruction, and similarly the learning of the Kazakh language in schools with Russian or another language as the language of instruction, is carried out according to the wishes of parents and teachers."

There are people, the article continues, who declare themselves against the knowledge of the Russian language and of Russian culture, and who insist that the children of Kazakhs ought to be able to study only in Kazakh. "Such a view is nothing more nor less than bourgeois nationalism, and it must be firmly opposed."

Marxism-Leninism does not deny the existence of national differences and these must be constantly taken into account. They have very deep roots in the past as, for instance, in Kazakh culture. This does not mean, however, that these cultures should never change or that they are divided from each other "as it were by a Great Wall of China". The common characteristics of all cultures are particularly evident in conditions of a socialist society. "Here, two processes are constantly at work in the spiritual life of the peoples: the flourishing of national cultures and their gradual merging. These two processes are inseparably connected with each other." "Thus, national character, or the psychological make-up of a nation,

harmoniously combines in itself two factors: the factor which distinguishes peoples and their cultures, and the factor which brings them together and unites them."

After quoting Lenin's statement about socialism aiming at the abolition of national divisions and at the drawing together and eventual merging of nations, the article explains that although the process of merging is a long one, particularly in respect of the creation of a single world language, "the drawing together of nations and their cultures. . . is an actual fact. It cannot be separated from the future, however distant, prospect of the merging of nations." Nor can it be speeded up or slowed down by administrative methods, although "individual comrades" are trying to do this in respect of the Kazakh language. In its written form Kazakh was only in an embryo form before the Revolution, it was therefore a legitimate and progressive process for it to be enriched with technical, political and artistic terms from Russian and other languages. Nevertheless, an attack was recently made in the newspaper LENINSHIL ZHAS on "the pollution of the language with foreign words". There is a mistaken notion that new words for new things can be provided from Kazakh sources, however unintelligible such words may be, on the grounds that they are "a poor thing but our own". For example, as the Kazakhs had no shows of any kind, there was no word for 'spectator' in their language. Although the Russian word zritel' is freely used by the great majority of people, a fruitless attempt was made to introduce the totally unintelligible word korermen. These opponents of new words taken from their "brothers' languages" quote Belinskiy to support their theory. But Belinskiy although he criticized the use of foreign words in Russian admitted that the most expressive words were the best, whether Russian or foreign. "These wonderful words of the great Russian democrat provide a final answer to those ill-starred intellectuals who want to delay artificially the ineluctable process of the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the national cultures and languages of the Soviet peoples."

The same tendency is observable among youthful creators of art and literature - a tendency to portray our contemporaries in a purely ethnographic way. The fact is that some representatives of the creative intelligentsia do not properly understand the nature of the national role, identifying it with the forms of their national way of life and of the old pre-revolutionary way of life into the bargain. Anxious to impart a national colour to their productions they have to show their heroes - kolkhozniks, workers and even young people - in national robes and head-dresses, in old-fashioned long dresses and bodices. Indispensable accessories of their productions are the yurt and meat dishes à la Kazakh eaten with the fingers while sitting on the ground. A recent exhibition of pictures consisted largely of outmoded views of this and that being done in summer pastures. These bore no relation to the busy life on the new lands today and represented the shepherd merely "as the guardian of what remains from the former patriarchal and feudal society". "Thus our art which is called upon to

propagate everything new and progressive which is being created in life and society sometimes gives publicity to an epoch long since past. This has a completely negative influence on the education of our young people."

Some people press for the mass manufacture of national dress. This too is simply part of a senseless and unwanted adherence to the traditions and customs of the past and can do nothing but harm to the communist education of the workers. At one time there was a similar movement in Russia, but now no-one dreams of returning to the costumes of Pushkin's time or even of the beginning of the twentieth century.

The large quantity of literature written about traditions and survivals suffers in the opinion of the writer from three defects:

(a) No distinction is made between good and bad traditions and they are accordingly lumped all together.

(b) National traditions are thought by many to be immutable, whereas when the use of the best traditions is advocated, their further development in accordance with the new conditions of life should be borne in mind.

(c) Some Party members consider only old traditions as popular ones and only talk and write about them. But there are some splendid traditions of the Soviet period such as the self-effacing work of constructing communism, collectivism in its highest form, Soviet patriotism, the indestructible friendship and brotherly co-operation of the Soviet peoples, etc.

There is no people in the family of socialist nations which would not value this sacred friendship, now stronger than ever. "But this not only does not remove but greatly strengthens the need to fight against the survivals of nationalism. Unless this is done they may become a serious hindrance to the "international" education of the workers and particularly of young people. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the campaign against nationalistic prejudices requires great skill and wisdom. On no account should the national feelings of Soviet peoples be irritated, much less insulted.

"The fight against local nationalism, and the education of all the formerly oppressed nations in a spirit of mutual brotherhood and friendship, in a spirit of unbounded love and gratitude to the great Russian people constitute the primary duty first and foremost of the communists of these nations; while Russian communists see it as their duty to give the maximum attention to opposing manifestations of great-power chauvinism. In this lies the essence of Lenin's presentation of the problem of the struggle against nationalistic survivals."

"NATIONALISM" IN THE SOVIET MUSLIM REPUBLICS

During the first eight months of 1959 there have been disturbances within the Party organizations of four republics - Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaydzhan and Tadzhikistan. In all these republics except Tadzhikistan the disturbances were accompanied by the removal of the First Secretary of the Central Committee and sometimes of other personnel also. In all cases, with the mysterious exception of Uzbekistan, the reasons for these changes were given fairly fully. "Nationalist tendencies" were always mentioned, although they seem to have been more important in some republics than in others. The following is a collection of all passages relating to "nationalism" which appeared in this connection in the press of the four republics. Note should also be taken of the proceedings of the "Joint Scientific Session Dedicated to the Importance of the Incorporation of Central Asia into Russia" (see CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VII, Nos.2, pp. 157-9, and 3, pp.271-3) and of the following articles: "The Bourgeois Nationalist Baymirza Hayit Cannot Hide the Truth" by A. Il'yasov and K. Novoselov in KOMMUNIST TURKMENISTANA, 1959, No.5, pp.52-60; and "Truth is Stronger than Lies" by N. Sagindykov and A. Shmanov in PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1959, No.6, pp.72-77.

Turkmenistan

First Secretary S. Babayev and Second Secretary N. Durdyyeva removed.
TI. 16.12.58

Speech of First Secretary D.D. Karayev at XVth Congress of the Turkmen Communist Party.

"On the contrary they [Babayev and Durdyyeva] flouted the bolshevist principle of the selection of cadres, cultivated a faulty method, alien to our Party, of promoting cadres. Babayev and Durdyyeva placed their own venal aims first and for this very reason selected people not according to their political, practical qualities but according to criteria of local origin (zemlyachestvo), personal devotion and servility." TI. 20. 1.59

Speech of D.D. Karayev at XXIst Congress of CPSU.

"Former secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan Babayev and Durdyyeva flagrantly ignored the Leninist norms of Party life and the principles of Party guidance. They ignored the bolshevist principle of selection and promotion of cadres, distorted the sacred principle of internationalism in our Party, treated the cadres of other nationalities with scorn. . ." TI. 5.2.59

Unsigned article "The Leninist Norms of Party Life must be strictly observed":

"The Party has always fought firmly against both great-power chauvinism and local nationalism in whatever forms they showed themselves. Unfortunately one can still meet people infected with (nositeli) certain nationalist prejudices, one can still find examples of nationalist narrowness and rigidity. Nationalist survivals can sometimes be observed in economic and ideological fields, in the matter of the selection of cadres. . .

"However, former secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan Babayev and Durdyyeva interpreted these important decisions of the Party and Government incorrectly. There appeared in their work a tendency to set off the cadres of the basic nationality [i.e. Turkmen. -Ed.] against those of other nationalities. They ignored the bolshevist principle of the selection and promotion of cadres, distorted the sacred principle of internationalism (internatsionalizm) in our Party and treated the cadres of other nationalities with scorn. . ." KOM. TURK., 1959, No.2

Unsigned article "The Most Important Tasks of Ideological Work":

"The decisions of the XXIst Congress of the CPSU on problems of ideological work emphasized the importance of an international (internatsional'nyy) education, of the reinforcement of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR. In our country the social and economic basis for national hostility or discrimination is lacking. We have not, however, finally liquidated nationalist survivals. They appear in attempts to avoid strengthening connections with other economic regions, in local patriotism and in an incorrect attitude towards the interests of the State as a whole.

"In its execution of Lenin's national policy the Communist Party secured a broadening of the rights of Union republics and of local Party and Soviet organs. Some executives have incorrectly understood these measures, have attempted to set off the cadres of the basic nationality against workers of other nationalities. Former secretaries of the Central Committee of the Turkmen Communist Party Babayev and Durdyyeva were guilty of this. They tried to implant scorn towards the other peoples of the USSR, adopted an indifferent attitude towards using the advanced experience of fraternal

republics, slowed down exchange of cultural values." KOM.TURK., 1959, No.4

Uzbekistan

First Secretary Kamalov removed. PV. 15.3.59

No reason or account of the proceedings were given. First Secretary Sh.R. Rashidov's speech (PV. 28.3.59) mentions that there had been serious shortcomings and mistakes in the fields of economics, culture and Party organization, and goes on to emphasize the duty of creative workers to "wage an implacable war against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, occurrences of nationalist rigidity, local patriotism and other survivals". PV. 28.3.59

Tadzhikistan

No administrative changes.

Speech of First Secretary Ul'dzhabayev to VIth Plenum of the Tadzhik Communist Party.

"Some representatives of our intelligentsia are too willing, for any reason or for no reason at all, to emphasize that we Tadzhiks are an ancient people and have an ancient culture. Why these reminders now, one wonders? Yes, it is a fact that we are an ancient nation and have an ancient culture. But on the eve of the October Revolution our people, as is well known, were on the point of dying out, in fact the Tadzhik nation as such did not exist.

"Whoever does not understand this [the fact that the Tadzhik nation owes all it has to its 'elder brother the great Russian people'. -Ed.] whoever tries to set the cadres of the local nationality against those of other nationalities, has no place in our Party, no place in our ranks." KT. 17.7.59

Azerbaydzhan

First Secretary I.D. Mustafayev removed. BR. 11.7.59

"As is well known the XXIst Congress of the CPSU emphasized that in all ideological work the most important place must go to problems of educating the workers in the spirit of industry, of fulfilment of one's social duty, in the spirit of the friendship of peoples and of socialist internationalism. However, as the participants of the Plenum noted in their speeches, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communit Party of Azerbaydzhan responded unsatisfactorily to this demand. Recently attention had slackened towards problems of the international education of the workers." BR. 11.7.59

THE BAKU HISTORICAL CONFERENCE

1958

Between 22nd-24th December 1958 a conference on the history of the Bolshevik Revolution in Transcaucasia was held in Baku. The conference was organized by the History Department of the SSSR Academy of Sciences together with the Armenian, Azerbaydzhani and Georgian Institutes of History and it was attended also by Kazakh, Latvian and Dagestani scholars. Altogether some two hundred people took part; they heard nine lectures and sixteen people participated in debates.

The works of the conference were inspired by the XXth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party which had emphasized the importance of further and more detailed study of the history of the "Socialist Revolution, the heroic struggle of the toilers of our country against foreign interventionists and internal counter-revolution".(1)

In his opening address A.S. Sumbat-zade, vice-president of the Azerbaydzhan Academy of Sciences, stressed the need for coordinating research into the various aspects of the Revolution in the three Transcaucasian republics. He added that the present conference was expected to play a large part in that task.

The lectures delivered can be roughly divided into three groups: the first covered the specific local features of the revolutionary struggle in the three republics, the second was concerned with the part played by the local soviets before and during the Revolution, and the third dealt with the fight of the Transcaucasian workers against the foreign interventionists in 1918-21. The last group has a particular propaganda significance.

The first topic was discussed in relation to Azerbaydzhan by the director of the Institute of History of the Azerbaydzhani Academy of Sciences, I.A. Guseynov. He said that by 1917 the ground had been prepared for the Revolution (imelis' vse o"byektivnyye sotsialnoekonomicheskiye predposylki sotsialisticheskoy revolutsii): "the proletariat of Azerbaydzhan already had behind it fifteen years of training in revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party".(2)

The events which took place in Azerbaydzhan in 1917 made Guseynov draw the following conclusion as regards the political make-up of the country: "if the industrial area of Baku is excluded, dual power in fact meant the

sole power of the landowners and bourgeoisie".(3) This point of view was subsequently widely discussed.

The Soviet regime was proclaimed at Baku on 31st October 1917 and the local branch of the Party prepared the workers to fight the "bourgeois-landowners' counter-revolution". In connection with this, the speaker paid homage to a number of distinguished Party activists including Mikoyan.

On 25th April 1918 the Baku Sovnarkom was set up and "immediately it began to carry out the more important socialist transformations"(4) in a manner which A.E. Ioffe, the author of the "Historical Conference in Baku" (VOPROSY ISTORII, No.6, 1959) does not explain. The result of this process apparently was that "during April and May 1918, with the help of the proletariat of Baku, Soviet power was established in almost all the eastern uyezds of Azerbaydzhan and in a large part of Dagestan".(5) But in the following summer the Soviet regime was destroyed by the Turco-German and British interventionists and the Soviet of Baku did not have enough troops to fight both the interventionists and internal counter-revolution. Another reason for this disaster, Guseynov admitted, was serious errors committed by the Azerbaydzhani Bolsheviks: their liberal attitude to the Mensheviks, Dashnaks and SRs as well as a wrong way of recruiting for the army. There was not as yet a firm union between the proletariat and peasantry and the national (sic) problem was still unsolved. Another mistake on the part of the Bolsheviks was that they did not put forward the principle of autonomy and it was not until the spring of 1919 that N. Narimanov suggested that Azerbaydzhan should become a Soviet republic. On 2nd March 1919 the All-Bak Party Conference declared an "independent Soviet Azerbaydzhan" to be one of the objects of the Soviet leaders, but the majority of the members of the Caucasian Regional Committee opposed the principle of independence of the Transcaucasian Soviet republics.

On 19th July 1919 the joint conference of the Politbyuro and the Orgbyuro TsK RKP(b) decided that in future Azerbaydzhan would become an inde pendent republic. Soviet Russia gave Azerbaydzhan considerable economic, political and military assistance while the Azerbaydzhani communists secretl sent petrol and lubricating oil for the Red Army. This display of mutual goodwill culminated in the establishment of Soviet rule in Azerbaydzhan in May 1920 as a result of an armed rebellion headed by bolsheviks.

A.M. Akopyan spoke about the stages in the growth of the Socialist Revolution in Transcaucasia and the reasons for the delay in the triumph of the Soviet regime in Armenia. He severely criticized the widespread belief that the Soviet regime was not victorious in Transcaucasia at the end of 191 because of the errors committed by the Caucasian Regional Committee and Tiflis Committee of the RSDRP(b). He emphasized that between October 1917-March 1918 an armed insurrection might well have overthrown the Transcaucasi Commissariat and the "assenting" soviets. At that time part of the workers

Azerbaydzhan SSR
To Batumi
To Makhach-Kala
To Erevan
Tbilisi
Belokany
Zakataly
Kakhi
GEORGIAN SSR
DAGESTAN ASSR
Akhty
Sholtar
Khudat
Khachmas
Kusary
Krasnaya Sloboda
Kuba
Divichi
Kyzyl-Burun
Kukheti
Akstafa
Kazakh
Nukha
Vartashen
Konakhkend
Tauz
Kura
Samukh
Kurkashen
Dzharat
AZERBAYDZHAN SSR
Lagich
Alty-Agach
Shamkhor
Safaraliyev
Mingechaur
Ismailly
Shemakha
Nasosnyy
Sumgait
Bashkend
Kirovabad
Khanlar
Khaldan
Agdash
Geokchay
Sumgait-chay
Sabunchi
Mashtagi
Buzovny
Kedabek
Kasum-Ismailovo
Yevlakh
Lyaki
Akhsu
Marazy
Gyuzdek
Khurdalan
Baladzhary
Artem Ostrov
Dashkesan
Adzhikend
Naftalan
Udzhary
Surakhany
Shaumiyanovsk
Chiragidzor
Barda
Kyurdomir
Puta
BAKU
Zhiloy
Madagis
Terter
Martuni
Mardakert
Zardob
Kubaly
Kel'badzhar
NAGORNO-KARABAKH
Agdzhabedy
Kura
Kazi-Magomed
Duvannyy
Sabirabad
ARMENIAN SSR
Dzhermuk
Agdam
Ali-Bayramly
Alyaty
Imishly
Saatly
Stepanakert
Zhdanovsk
Karadomly
Karachala
Byandovan
Shusha
A.O.
Martuni
Norashen
Karyagino
Goris
Oz. Ak-Chala
Sal'yany
Pusian
Gadrut
Pushkino
Bank
Shakhbuz
Dzhebrail
Garadiz
Kura
NAKHICHEVAN' ASSR
Kubatly
Neftechala
Nakhichevan'
Astrakhan-Bazar
Abrakunis
Kafan
Masally
Dzhul'fa
Yardymly
Kirovsk
Port Il'icha
Ordubad
Megri
Lerik
Lenkaran'
I R A N
Astara
J.P.-1958.
State frontiers.
Union Republic frontiers.
Autonomous oblast' frontiers.
Railways.
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still followed the "assenting" or bourgeois-nationalist parties because the communist parties of Azerbaydzhan, Armenia and Georgia were not organized until 1920. The Bolsheviks did not have armed forces and the struggle for Transcaucasia was limited to the gradual penetration of the Bolsheviks into the soviets, whose object was to transform them into revolutionary organizations. From this Akopyan concluded that in February-March 1918 the way had been prepared for an armed rebellion.

Next the speaker discussed the reasons why in 1918 Soviet rule in Transcaucasia was so short-lived and why its subsequent restoration was delayed. Unlike Guseynov, he sought explanation in social, political and national factors: the economic backwardness of Transcaucasia, its undeveloped proletariat and the weak working-class movement which was, moreover, insufficiently connected with similar activities of the peasants; the mixed national character of the population, and finally the large number of bourgeois-nationalist and other counter-revolutionary parties and movements.

While the revolutionaries were reaping triumphs in central Russia, Transcaucasia was in a state of chaos. The bourgeois-nationalists came to power, first in the Transcaucasian Commissariat and Diet and then, in May 1918 in Armenia, in the so-called Dashnak Government. The situation was complicated further by the interference of foreign imperialists: the British, Americans and others. Only in 1920-1 could the great Russian people offer help to the Transcaucasians; thanks to this the workers and peasants of Transcaucasia under the leadership of the Bolsheviks at last established Soviet rule in their countries.

The same subject with a special reference to Georgia was discussed by A.N. Surguladze.

Three lectures dealt with the subject of the soviets. Z.I. Ibragimov spoke about the soviets in Azerbaydzhan before and during the Revolution. He emphasized that so far the local soviets, except that of Baku, had received little attention and that the amount of research into the social background of their members and the political struggle within the soviets was still very small, though in fact it was a very large subject. In March-April 1917, following the example of Baku, soviets were organized in all the uyezd centres, railway junctions and large centres of population in Azerbaydzhan as well as in the military centres in the south of the country. Originally the SRs and Mensheviks were predominant in the soviets and the bourgeois-nationalist parties had a strong influence upon them. The only exception was the soviet of the soldiers' deputies in the Sharifkhan rayon which right from the start was in Bolshevik hands. Thus the party composition of the soviets did not predispose them to acting as "organs of revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". In the summer of 1917 there were some forty soviets in Azerbaydzhan; of those that of Baku, with a strong Bolshevik faction, was particularly active. The process of bolshevization of

the soviets was difficult owing to the complicated social and national make-up of the country. The Bolsheviks of Baku and of some other areas had close connections with the Central Committee of the Party and from 13th October 1917 the soviet of Baku was run by the Bolsheviks led by S. Shaumyan.

While the Revolution was winning victory in Russia proper, some provincial soviets of Azerbaydzhan declared their adherence to the Soviet of the National Commissars. But they were unable to withstand the pressure of the counter-revolutionary forces which gained an upper hand in the country in January 1918. Only the soviet of Baku, especially after the suppression of the Musavat uprising in March 1918, was the undisputed master of the city. Soviet rule was established in a number of uyezds between April-June 1918 but it collapsed very soon. The reason for this Ibragimov sees in the perverse policy of the Baku soviet which he has just hailed as a Bolshevik stronghold; now he says that the SR-Menshevik-Dashnak bloc within it ignored the protests of the Bolsheviks and on 25th June 1918 it treasonably decided to invite the help of the British imperialists. In spite of the temporary destruction of Soviet rule in Azerbaydzhan - concluded Ibragimov - the work of the soviets in 1917-18 marked an important stage in the progress of the Revolution in Azerbaydzhan and in the whole of Transcaucasia.

The activities of the soviets in Georgia and Armenia were discussed by E.E. Burchuladze and A.M. El'chibekyan respectively.

Three lectures were concerned with the problem of the resistance of the Transcaucasian peoples against the foreign interventionists in 1918-21. G.A. Galoyan and I.I. Mirtskhulava spoke about it with reference to Armenia and Georgia respectively while E.A. Tokarzhevskiy, the author of ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND THE CIVIL WAR IN AZERBAYDZHAN (Azerbaydzhani Academy of Sciences, Institute of History. Baku, 1957), was the obvious authority to discuss the subject where Azerbaydzhan was concerned. The subject offers great propaganda possibilities to which the three lectures did full justice, the USA being represented as the chief evil genius among the interventionists big and small. On his part Tokarzhevskiy, unlike Guseynov, emphasized the decisive importance of the "armed intervention of Anglo-American imperialism and of the Germano-Turkish bloc" in the temporary collapse of Soviet rule in Azerbaydzhan. A summary of his lecture, supplied by VOPROSY ISTORII, clearly shows what was the chief concern of the above scholar:

"Between the summer of 1918 and the spring of 1920 the interventionists ordered Azerbaydzhan about in a most high-handed way. For six months the Turkish occupying forces ruled over some regions of Azerbaydzhan and sometimes over the whole of the republic. The lecturer gave account of the crimes, such as mass murders and bestialities, which the imperialists had

committed in Transcaucasia. E.A. Tokarzhevskiy also adduced facts which irresistibly unmasked the policy of the British interventionists whose object was to enslave Azerbaydzhan economically. They had exported from Azerbaydzhan over thirty million puds* of oil products. Also the representatives of the American Standard Oil Company tried to lay hands on the oil resources. The USA was making preparations to establish an American governor-generalship in the Nakhichevan' country. The control exercised by the occupying power resulted in considerable destruction of the local productive forces which subsequently made the restoration of the national economy of Azerbaydzhan the more difficult. The lecturer also described the struggle of the Azerbaydzhani people against the interventionists; this struggle he correctly estimated as part of the common campaign of the peoples of our country against international imperialism and internal counter-revolution."(6)

In this connection an inquiry into the correct interpretation of the word "intervention", as revealed by Tokarzhevskiy himself in ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION, is illuminating. "By intervention our Marxist-Leninist social science understands the forcible interference by one or more powers in the affairs of another country, which violates its sovereignty, encroaches upon its territory and denies equality of the peoples". Marxism-Leninism makes it clear that this sinister practice is limited to imperialists: "Intervention is a favourite political weapon of imperialist powers seeking to enslave other countries". It appears further that intervention assumes different forms to suit each particular case: it may be economic, diplomatic or military. It can also be secret, as happened in Transcaucasia - "In some cases camouflaged intervention precedes open military intervention and it prepares the way for armed attack and occupation of one or another country. This method was exploited by the anti-Soviet imperialist intervention in 1917-1920".(7)

The lectures were widely discussed. Some speakers dealt with the problem of the degree of readiness of Transcaucasia for the Revolution. M.A. Ismailov said that the Azerbaydzhani village in 1917 had a large number of potential revolutionaries in the person of hired agricultural labour. It appears that out of the 38,000 desyatinas* of arable land in the country only 4,000 were held by peasantry, the rest belonging to the beks who employed hired workers. Ismailov regards these labourers as natural allies of the urban proletariat in the struggle for the victory of the Revolution. But G.M. Dallakyan said that in 1917 the Transcaucasian peasants were not yet prepared for the Revolution and that the bond between them and industrial workers was still weak. Both these statements seem dubious in view of the fact, as I.V. Strigunov emphasized, that the history

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* 1 pud = 36.1 lbs. 1 desyatina = 2.70 acres

of the working-class of Transcaucasia had not been yet adequately studied. For example, statistical materials relating to the numbers and territorial distribution of the workers in Azerbaydzhan during the First World War had not yet been analysed. Strigunov calculated that the total number of the Azerbaydzhani proletariat on the eve of the Revolution exceeded 120-130,000; the Azerbaydzhani constituted 37.2 per cent, Armenians 26.7, Russians 24.7, Lezgians 9.1 and other nationalities 2.3 per cent. Over 60 per cent of Baku workers had connections with the peasants. As regards occupation, 71 per cent of all workers were employed in establishments each of which had over 100 workers (22.4 per cent of all industrial establishments).

A.S. Sumbat-zade discussed the social and economic state of Transcaucasia on the eve of the Revolution. He denounced Stalin's statement that Azerbaydzhan had been the most backward patriarchal-feudal country and he pointed out that "this statement was converted into a dogma which hindered profound study of the social and economic development of Azerbaydzhan and inspired the rise of erroneous ideas in historical literature".(8) But on the other hand Sumbat-zade criticized the tendency, which had become apparent lately to exaggerate the extent of the development of capitalist relations in the Azerbaydzhani village. This made him argue against Ismailov's conception of the role of agricultural labourers as a revolutionary element.

L.A. Khurshudyan criticized those historians who denied the existence of a revolutionary situation in Transcaucasia and overestimated the part played by the specific conditions of the country, as well as those scholars who considered the situation in each component country separately and concluded that a revolutionary atmosphere existed in Baku but not in Armenia and Georgia. He pointed out that Transcaucasia should be considered as a single economic and political organism and that Lenin had said that in spite of local variations the revolutionary movement was basically the same in the whole Russian state. Khurshudyan's point of view was supported by D.A. Chugayev.

The problem of Transcaucasian-Russian relations received some attention. N.I. Sturua criticized historians whose description of the part played by Soviet Russia in the victory of the proletarian Revolution was inadequate. G.A. Madatov deplored the poor interpretation in historical literature of the friendship between the Transcaucasians and the Russian people and their common struggle against the interventionists.

The final address of I.I. Mints closed the conference. He pointed out those aspects of the Revolution in Transcaucasia which so far had been more or less neglected by historians and awaited further study. Such were the organization and work of the local soviets and the social and economic situation before and during the Revolution. Also it was necessary to produce a comprehensive work on the aid which the counter-revolutionary forces had

received from the interventionists as well as on the history of the October Revolution in Transcaucasia.

Subsequently Mints frankly revealed to a press correspondent the true significance of the conference: "The conference, as compared with a conference on the same subject which was held in 1954, is a big step forward. Since then the scholars of Transcaucasia have studied a large amount of new material relating to the intervention of imperialist powers in Transcaucasia and particularly to the participation of the USA in the organization of the Transcaucasian counter-revolution as well as the economic and financial aid it received. Those sources prove that the American imperialists bear full responsibility for the crimes of the Transcaucasian counter-revolution.

"Thanks to the researches of the Azerbaydzhani, Armenian and Georgian historians a comprehensive work can at last be produced; it will make possible the unmasking of American imperialism and its share in the bloody crimes against the Transcaucasian peoples. . ."(9)

Notes

(1) IZ ISTORII INOSTRANNOY INTERVENTSII I GRAZHDANSKOY VOYNY V AZERBAYDZHANE, E.A. Tokarzhevskiy, Baku, 1957, p.5.

(2) VOPROSY ISTORII, No.6, 1959, p.182.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid., p.186.

(7) Tokarzhevskiy, pp.32-3.

(8) VOPROSY ISTORII, p.187.

(9) BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 27.12.58.

CENTRAL ASIAN ARCHAEOLOGY
1956 - 58 [1]

It is difficult to give a clear account of current archaeological exploration in Central Asia, for the only available source is the short reports which appear in the press. Thus there is a lack of consecutive information and any account of the excavations must be disappointingly fragmentary.

Another problem is how far the subject should go, that is to say, how to decide where archaeology stops and history begins. Any attempt to fix a demarcation line between the two must be arbitrary and the Mongol invasion is here taken as the dividing point, mainly because the available information on the excavation of later sites tends to grow increasingly scarce.

For the sake of clarity the following account of archaeological research has been limited to the more important sites, and scraps of information on minor finds has been disregarded.

. . .

Central Asia, one of the ancient centres of civilization, is very rich in archaeological sites, but in the Tsarist period such archaeological work as was sporadically carried out was limited to the collection and registration of finds. Systematic work did not start until the Soviet period. Only then the conduct of exploration came to be planned for years ahead and its purpose specified. The earlier years were mainly devoted to exploratory works, which in turn served as a basis for large-scale excavations. The tremendous importance of this planned research for the study of Central Asian history has been, however, considerably undermined by its being moulded into the Marxist form. This is apparent even in such a basic matter as the division into periods. According to Marxist periodization the time between the middle of the first millennium B.C. and the sixth century A.D. was in the southern, mainly agricultural areas, one of "slave-owning" society; this in turn is subdivided into the "primitive" and the "ancient" (antichnyy) periods. The "slave-owning" period was followed by the rise of "feudalism" in the fifth and sixth centuries, and this falls into "early"

and "fully-developed feudalism", the latter ending with the coming of "capitalism" - i.e. the arrival of the Russians, whose advent in this part of the world hastened the growth of capitalism. The basis of these developments is believed to have been natural social evolution and not foreign conquest. According to this conception, the main purpose in the study of historical monuments is to determine the form of community which created them and to identify the stage of its social and economic development.

If it is safe to generalize from the information supplied by the press, Uzbekistan and south-eastern Turkmenistan are the richest archaeological areas and Kazakhstan comes last. This, if correct, could be explained by the contrasts between life in the settled and in the cattle-breeding areas. The former abound in materials relating to their architecture and town life, arts and crafts, and agriculture. There are also direct written sources, though naturally their amount varies from one period to another, and they more intimately reflect the life of the country than information on the life of the nomads derived from mainly foreign sources.

The distribution of archaeological sites in the settled area is determined by its irrigation system, which in antiquity was in some respects different from the present, as some rivers are known to have changed their courses. Thus the basins of the Atrek and Gurgan constituted the Central Asian part of Parthia, the valley of the lower Murgab formed Margiana, the basin of the lower Amu-Dar'ya - Khorezm, the basin of the middle and upper Amu-Dar'ya - Bactria, and that of the Zeravshan and Kashka-Dar'ya - Soghdiana. The history of these states which, incidentally, coincides with the period of "slave-owning" ("ancient") is being reconstructed largely from archaeological evidence.

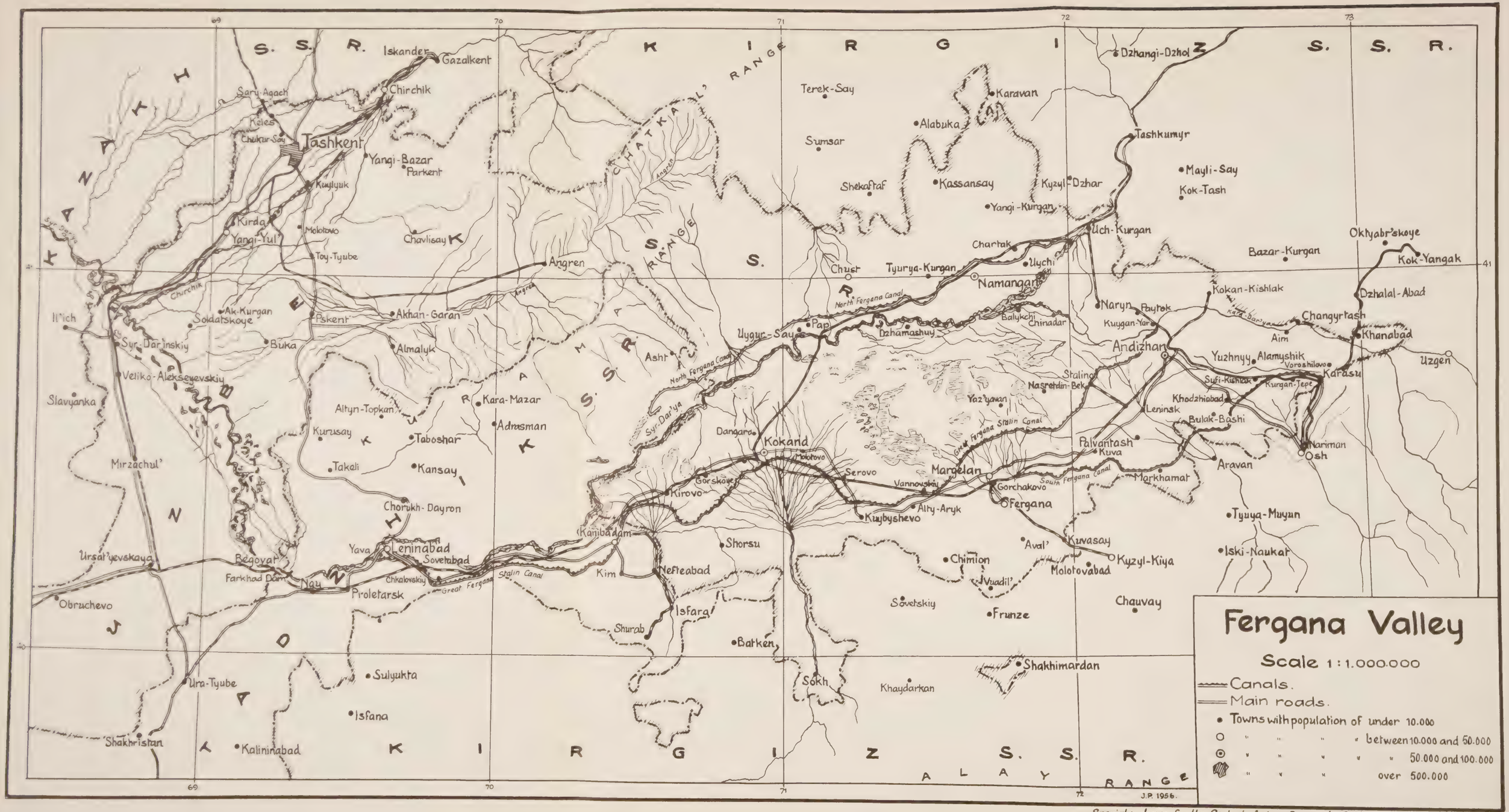
The distant past of the nomad lands is much more elusive. Written source material for them is not only extremely scarce, but comes largely from foreign documents, with the usual shortcomings which this situation implies. In these circumstances archaeology could play a particularly important part in the reconstruction of their history if its scope was not limited by the specific conditions of life in these regions. Tombs and buildings associated with religion are the principal feature of their architecture, with an occasional fortress representing the centre of a district. Thus the bulk of information on everyday life of the nomad tribes comes from their burial mounds and the objects of common use which they contain. It is essential to remember these differences between the two areas of Central Asia in order to appreciate the significance of the excavations which are being carried out there.

Settled lands

The Fergana valley is one of the ancient regions of human habitation and its ancient topography is emerging from the extensive archaeological exploration carried out there. In the sands of central Fergana some 700 stone implements have been found, a fact which proves that some 5-7,000 years ago that part of the valley was inhabited by man. The Stone Age people, who lived on the banks of the rivers and lakes, engaged in fishing and hunting until the rivers changed their courses and the lakes dried up. The people moved away, but the tools they left behind show that central Fergana was not always an arid desert.

Traces of Bronze Age man are more abundant in the valley. Three such settlements were excavated in 1957; also a centre of the ancient metal industry was discovered together with numerous huts of its workers, who supplied the population of Fergana with bronze. During the last few years a number of agricultural settlements have been discovered. It is believed that they flourished about 3500-3000 B.C. They are situated on high ground surrounded by the marshes of the Kashka-Dar'ya. They have yielded much pottery decorated with a black pattern on a red background, grinding stones, sickles, knives, a variety of bronze objects and stone casts for making them. There are layers of ashes on the sites suggesting how the settlements perished. Particularly interesting is the situation of the old settlement of Dal'verzin in the Andizhan oblast; it occupied an area of 25 hectares and was densely settled. Of its three occupation levels the second had a strong defence wall of unbaked brick. Perhaps the best known Bronze Age site in Fergana is Chust in the Namangan oblast. The excavations which were started there in 1953 are still going on. It lay on a high dune overlooking the surrounding plateau and was protected by a deep gorge, while the north-western part, which had no natural defence, was guarded by a wall 70 metres long and 6-8 metres high. The site was occupied between 1600-1000 B.C. It was now and again sacked by the nomads, as the layers of ash stretching through all the inhabited levels testify, and it was finally abandoned by the inhabitants when the great wall collapsed. A variety of locally made goods found shows a high level of craftsmanship(2), while some finds testify to the far-flung contacts of the population - such are lapis lazuli beads of Ural origin and shells from the shores of the Pacific or the Indian Ocean. The inhabitants engaged in fishing, hunting, cattle-breeding and agriculture and the variety of crops raised was considerable, as the grains of wheat, barley and millet as well as grape-pips and pumpkin-seeds found at the site show.

Some two years ago the excavation of a hillock in the Central Park of Rest and Culture in the city of Fergana was begun. It was found that at that site there were a number of houses, one built on the ruins of another. The first appeared about the beginning of the Christian era; at that time there was a town at the site of modern Fergana and the excavated hill is



Specialy drawn for the Central Asian Research Centre. – 1956. – J.P.

one of its remnants. In the hills near Fergana there are ancient burial grounds, some of which were excavated in 1954-8; they are of a type hitherto unknown - the mounds were up to 70 metres long and among the oblong ones there are found small circular tumuli. They are the cemeteries of large patriarchal families whose members were buried close to one another, while the nearest relatives were put in a single tomb. The grave goods show them as belonging to the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. and they resemble those found in Kazakhstan, the Tyan'-Shan' and the Pamirs and archaeologists associate them with the Saki tribes.

The digging of the Great Fergana Canal in 1939 proved beneficial from the point of view of archaeology. In the course of the work the early medieval towns of Pap, Rishtan and Kuva, so far known only from references by Arab geographers, were found and identified. The excavation of old Kuva started in 1956. The city appeared some hundreds of years B.C. and survived until the early thirteenth century A.D. when it was destroyed by the Mongols. The uninterrupted occupation level is 10 metres thick; the upper levels, corresponding to the tenth-eleventh centuries, have yielded finds testifying to the high level of craftsmanship; also large hoards of eleventh-thirteenth century coins have been found. The ruins of a pre-Muslim temple show that it was plundered and burned, probably during the Arab conquest. In 1958 work started on the palace; it was a very impressive building, its interior being decorated with paintings; particularly interesting are the fragments of sculpture found both inside and outside the building. The statues are executed with great mastery, their faces convey various emotions - the mouths of some are open as if crying and their eyes express horror. Their costumes and hair styles show great attention to detail and it is possible to identify various ethnic types among them. Various details of the sculpture relate it to that of Pendzhikent, Varakhsha and Balalyk-tepe.

The excavations of the Soghdian Pendzhikent, famous for its splendid mural paintings, continue.(3) In August 1957 another painting, depicting a battle between Soghdians and dēvs, was discovered. Altogether 25 square metres of painting were found that year. They illustrate some local epic whose main hero is perhaps Rustam and he is shown fighting diabolic creatures. Many scenes represent folklore elements or illustrate popular fables whose main characters are animals. Early in the eighth century the Arabs defeated in the mountain of Mug, known as the mountain of fire worshippers, the last ruler of Pendzhikent, Divashtich, and sacked the city; since then the site has remained unoccupied.

In 1955 excavations started at Shakhristan, in the Leninabad oblast, and have recently been completed. There were two towns on a high bank of a river and they flourished between the seventh and ninth centuries A.D. One of them was a small town with a citadel in the centre; the other had a palace in which resided the ruler of the surrounding agricultural district.

The front and central rooms of the palace were decorated with painting while the wooden columns and ceiling of the central hall were finely carved. In 1956, 67 human skeletons were found there. Since they date from the late eighth or early ninth centuries, it may be presumed that Shakhristan was destroyed by the Arabs.

The site of Samarkand and its environs were inhabited by man as early as the Stone Age. In 1958 a settlement of primitive man was excavated on the shore of Lake Komsomol in the city. Two cave dwellings have been found near Samarkand.

One of the most important monuments of ancient Soghdiana is the huge town of Afrasiab which adjoins Samarkand in the north. It is believed that it appeared about 1000 B.C. and survived until the Mongol invasion. During its sack by Chinghiz Khan the channels supplying the town with water from the Dargom were destroyed and as life at Afrasiab could not be restored without water, medieval Samarkand sprang up in the neighbourhood. It is one of the few Central Asian sites which was excavated in the Tsarist period. Large-scale exploration started in 1925 and in 1957 it was stated that the works would go on for another fifteen years. This is not surprising when one considers that Afrasiab occupies an area of 218.9 ha. and its diameter is 1.5km.

Three lines of fortifications surrounding the city show its gradual expansion; there is also a citadel at its north side. These relate to "feudal" Samarkand in the post-Arab period, but underneath there are strata relating to the sixth-fourth centuries B.C. They contain remnants of houses of sundried brick and clay and a large amount of pottery, whose workmanship suggests that at that time the potter's wheel was still a recent introduction. The stratum of the fourth-second centuries B.C. reveals that by that period Samarkand had already spread over the total area of Afrasiab; it contains numerous pottery statuettes and bas-reliefs, the majority relating to the Zoroastrian cult. This stratum corresponds to the city of Marakanda, as ancient authors call it, in which Alexander of Macedonia wintered with his troops. The medieval strata are exceptionally rich in finds and they show that at that time the city's main industries were milling, the manufacture of paper, and pottery. In 1958 the market place adjoining the artisans' quarter was excavated. There were found kilns for firing pottery lamps, as well as a large variety of glass and clay vessels, from huge dishes to tiny bowls decorated with geometrical designs and inscriptions in Persian and Arabic. At the same time a building with strong walls was excavated; it dates back to the early Middle Ages before the Arab invasion. Traces of extensive devastation by the Arab conquerors have been found.

Nothing significant has been reported since 1957 about the excavations at Nisa, capital of the Parthian Empire, and Merv.(4) In Khorezm the

expedition under S.P. Tolstov is continuing its excavations which have yielded new material for preparing an historical and ethnographic atlas of the region.(5)

Cattle-breeding regions

Towns excavated in Kazakhstan are few in comparison with the settled lands. The excavations of Taraz, within the precincts of contemporary Dzhambul, started in 1936. It was a populous town with bazaars, situated at the junction of caravan routes and in the ninth century Al Khorezmi described it as a city of merchants. It was sacked and depopulated by the Mongols and subsequently even its site was forgotten; it was identified only in 1927. In 1958 traces of water pipes were discovered there. The town had luxurious public baths with hypocausts.

In 1958 was the fourth year of the excavations of Baba-Ata, 200km. from Chimkent, in the centre of an old nomad region and far from the main caravan routes. The town flourished between the seventh and fourteenth centuries; there was a ruler's palace and the houses had hypocausts. In 1958 the third occupation level, 6 metres below the surface, was examined. It is hoped that the excavations will provide material for the study of the relations between the nomad and settled population in southern Kazakhstan.

In 1957 a Palaeolithic site was excavated at Chulak-tau in the Dzhambul oblast; in the same districts traces of Neolithic man were found. In the South-Kazakhstan oblast the excavations of numerous Bronze Age tumuli continued, in which were found grave goods of pottery and jewellery.

Kirgizia, on the route from China to Central Asia, is more abundant in old town sites. The Khodzha-Bakyrgan valley in the distant past was a gate through which passed caravan routes to Fergana. Some ancient and medieval settlements, lately discovered, show that even in antiquity agriculture existed there. The first century A.D. burial grounds have yielded fragments of Chinese textiles and Chinese mirrors testifying to the connections of that region with China. The same evidence relating to the last centuries B.C. is supplied by the excavations of a large town at the source of the Kara-Dar'ya.

There is much evidence of the wholesale destruction of towns during the Mongol invasions. Such was the fate of a settlement with a fortress near Tunuk in the Susamyr valley, whose origins date back to the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the Dzhumgal valley the sites of eight early medieval towns were identified in 1958; two of them were excavated. One of them had strong defence walls and it appeared between the eighth and tenth centuries; the origin of the other dates back to the tenth or

eleventh century. Both were destroyed by Chinghis Khan.

In 1958 the excavation of a Buddhist temple near Tokmak, in the Chu valley, was completed. It existed in the eighth and ninth centuries and was a large building covering an area of 1,600 square metres. There were found fragments of statues of the Buddha and Bodisatvas as well as wall paintings. Some details of the sculpture and the general plan of the temple indicate connections with northern India and Afghanistan. Another temple was found in the neighbourhood five years ago, both being part of an old town.

In 1958 the mystery of Lake Issyk-Kul' was finally solved. Various objects thrown ashore by its waves had inspired local legends that there were human settlements at its bottom; these tales were reported by Russian travellers who visited the region in the nineteenth century. In 1958 Kirgiz archaeologists with the help of divers examined the bottom of the lake along the northern shore and a variety of objects dating from the sixth to the twelfth centuries A.D. were found: metal spear heads, dishes, a primitive mill, fragments of pottery, sickles, coins and fired bricks. In antiquity the shores of the lake were occupied by the nomadic Saki and Usuni, the latter maintaining close connections with China. It appears that whole villages were submerged, but whether this was caused by an earthquake or by the sinking of the shore is still unknown. It is hoped that the under-water exploration planned for 1959 will help to solve the problem.

Excavations done in 1956 have revealed that the production of mercury in southern Kirgizia started in the fourth-second centuries B.C. and that it was carried on by the native population, and not by the Chinese as some scholars used to believe. On the upper reaches of the Sokh small pottery cosmetic jars containing rouge have been found and the content of mercury in the paint varied between 36.4-38.7 per cent. One of the graves in the area of the Samapskoye mercury deposit contained a skeleton of a young miner who died of mercury poisoning - the bones of his joints contained up to 0.5 per cent mercury which had eaten away his teeth and gums. In his left hand he had a burnt torch, probably to illuminate a mine in the other world.

Through southern Kirgizia stretches a chain of hills, some of which are burial mounds dating from the first centuries A.D. By the end of 1957 thirty-eight of them had been excavated. They are all of the same construction - with an almost vertical passage leading to the burial chamber in its western wall, six metres under the surface. There are plank coffins with four legs and coffins carved from logs; each contains a skeleton with 2-8 fragments of pottery; women have beads, bracelets, earrings and Chinese mirrors, men - iron knives with bone handles, swords, arrow heads, remnants of bows. In one grave a well preserved woman's corpse has been found. Similar grave goods have been found as far as the Volga lands.

Excavations done in 1956 have helped to reconstruct the history of the Talass valley. It appears that at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. the valley was occupied by nomads and that only in the eighth-ninth centuries there appeared agricultural settlements. They were surrounded with high defence walls and they flourished until the Mongol invasion, which wiped them out.

Source

Central Asian press.

Notes

(1) See also "The Year's work in Central Asian Archaeology, 1954-55", CAR, Vol.IV, No.2.

(2) Ibid., p.155.

(3) Ibid., pp.158-9.

(4) For details see "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Southern Turkmenistan", CAR, Vol.V, No.4.

(5) See also "Archaeological Surveys in Khorezm (1937-40 and 1945-52)", CAR, Vol.II, No.1.

THE OIL WORKERS OF NEBIT-DAG

From this article by Sh. Annaklychev which appeared in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1959, No.1, it appears that reluctance to abandon traditional customs is as strong among the Turkmens as in analogous communities elsewhere in the Muslim East, and in some respects even stronger. This may be a form of protest against the constant official pressure on them to change their way of life, which is characteristic of the Soviet regime.

The present article is on the whole sympathetically written. It is not easy to see what is especially "harmful" in many of the simple "survivals" which are described. The reference to intermarriage between Turkmens and Russians and Ukrainians needs some qualification. While there may be many cases of Turkmen men marrying Russian and Ukrainian girls, the converse is so rare as to be almost non-existent. The article has been abridged and headings added.

. . .

Introduction: Growth of the labour force - Housing and living customs - Food and clothing - Family life - Marriage - Conclusion.

Introduction: Growth of the labour force

"At the present stage of development of Soviet ethnographical science one of the main tasks of ethnographers is to study the way of life of the working-class of various nationalities. This is important. . . because the working-class is the leading class in society in our epoch. However, until now very little attempt has been made by ethnographers, either in our country or abroad, to study the life of the workers. . .

"The study of the development of the culture and way of life of the workers is especially important in such national republics as Turkmenistan where the formation of the working-class took place only after the victory of the October Revolution: (in the pre-revolutionary period Turkmenistan was a backward, agrarian, colonial fringe of Tsarist Russia)."

The history of the Nebit-Dag oil workers can be divided into three periods: (1) 1917-41; (2) the Great Fatherland War; (3) 1945 - the present day.

Although oil production began in Nebit-Dag in 1882, it was insufficiently profitable and ceased in 1887. Drilling was renewed in 1927. The Turkmen oil industry in general at that time was small in scale and apart from a few labourers no Turkmens worked in it. The experienced Russian and Azerbaydzhani technicians, however, began to train Turkmens as oil technicians also. Russian and Turkmen language classes were held by Turkmenneftetrest (Turkmen Oil Trust) to facilitate the transfer of knowledge. When the third gusher started up on 30th January 1933 and proved the field's resources, Turkmens began to flock to the field from the surrounding villages. It was mainly this influx which raised the number of workers in the field from 735 to 1,500 by the end of the year.(1) Young Turkmens were educated in the FZO (shkoly fabrichno-zavodskogo obrazovaniya) of Azerbaydzhan and by Turkmenneftetrest. In 1939 the Nebit-Dag Oil Technicum was opened, followed in 1940 by a trade school. Nebit-Dag also receives workers from other republics. At the end of 1942 alone more than 300 workers arrived at the field, including Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, Azerbaydzhanis and Armenians.

After the war, owing to the discovery of oil at Kum-Dag 42km. to the south, the number of Turkmen workers at Nebit-Dag increased. In 1951, 1,991 took up employment; during the Fourth Five-Year Plan the number rose 3.5 times.(2)

"The creation of cadres of oil workers in a comparatively short time has resulted in the continued firm preservation not only of national peculiarities of culture and way of life but even of some features of the way of life characteristic of the former Turkmen tribal groups - the Yamuts, Atabays, Dzhafarbays, etc. This is especially noticeable when one studies the customs and rites preserved in the family life of Turkmen workers."

Housing and living customs

In the main, however, native material and spiritual life has suffered considerable changes. These are shown most graphically in their dwellings. The Turkmen workers now live in settlements and towns instead of groups of yurts, although as late as 1930 the yurt was the predominant type of dwelling. Such settlements are Kazakhaul and Turkmenaul. "The construction of both suburbs was carried out spontaneously and normal planning and construction requirements were not observed. For this reason the majority of the houses in Kazakhaul are huddled together with paths instead of streets. Turkmenaul differs from Kazakhaul only in that here the houses

do not adjoin one another.

One of the reasons for the preservation of these suburbs is the fact that some of the workers living there will not move into the town flats where they would be unable to keep domestic animals, including even camels, as they have been used to do. "At the present time the yurt remains one of the types of dwelling to be found in the rural areas near Nebit-Dag, and there also well-built houses can be found. But in the life of the workers the yurt has completely lost its former significance and is preserved only as an outhouse."

The houses in the suburbs are of stone, brick or wood, and sometimes prefabricated. The roof, usually ridged although sometimes flat, is made of slate, asbestos-board or bitumenized cardboard (tol'). There are usually two rooms; one (agyz-tam), a hall, dining- and bed-room, the second (duypki öy), which is better furnished, for the reception of guests. The division into a women's and men's half which still existed in the 'thirties is not now found. These houses were originally heated by iron stoves and lit by paraffin lamps. In their furnishings they differ little from yurts. Tables, chairs, beds etc. are rarely found. Later houses were built to hold up to eight families. In 1945 the town began to be supplied with water. In 1952 gas was laid on and the old iron stove has almost disappeared. There is electric light almost everywhere.

As Turkmen housing has changed so has its furnishings. "As early as the beginning of 1940 one could find in the houses of many Turkmen workers modern city-type furniture: metal bedsteads, tables, chairs and bookcases. However, most of the Turkmen and Kazakh families, especially the older generation and the women, still prefer to sit and sleep on the floor. . . One can frequently find Turkmen families in which the old habits are still so strong that those of school age settle down on a carpet or a koshma (felt) to do their homework although they have every opportunity to study at the table.

"At the present moment in Nebit-Dag there are no Turkmen workers' families without radio loudspeakers or radio sets, gramophones, sewing-machines and electric or flat-irons (previously the Turkmens did not iron their linen). Some families have vacuum cleaners, electric fans and refrigerators. These new household articles are widespread also among the population of Nebit-Dag's suburbs and also among the rural population of the surrounding areas. In conditions of close contact and friendship with other nationalities certain common forms of way of life are gradually emerging in the oil workers' multi-national society. Thus the influence of Russian and Azerbaydzhani culture on the way of life of Turkmen workers makes itself felt most in house-furnishings. On the other hand certain features of Turkmen national culture (carpets in particular) are becoming part of the way of life of workers of other nationalities."

Among traditional domestic articles still in use in Turkmen workers' families are sacks of carpet material for holding clothing (chuval), similar bags for spoons and other small objects (torba), wooden casks (chelek), pestles (soki), hand mills (dash degirmen), iron cauldrons (gazan), wine-skins, combs for carding wool (yun darak) etc. The old wooden plates (chanak) and spoons (chemche) are now rarely used except in rural areas.

"During a study of the settlements it becomes apparent that the way of life of Turkmen workers has still not freed itself from the custom of living in groups according to past membership of one or another tribe (plemya) or clan (rod). Thus, almost all the families of Teke-Turkmen in Kazakhaul, although they arrived at different times, live in its south-western outskirts; the majority of the families of Yamut-Turkmen in Turkmenaul live in a compact group. In the remaining parts of Nebit-Dag, however, this peculiarity of distribution has already been overcome."

Food and clothing

In the past the semi-nomadic life of the Turkmens of this area of western Turkmenistan hindered the growth of a varied diet. The basic foods were wheat, barley, dzhugara (kind of maize), meat (mutton, beef, camel) and milk products. The position remained unchanged during the 'thirties. Now foodstuffs are imported from the southern regions of the republic and the Turkmens have adopted foods characteristic of other nationalities.

"In the past the men and women in a Turkmen family took their meals separately. In addition the women, independently of age, received a smaller share than the men. At the present time no such isolation exists in everyday life, although it is still observed during certain ritual meals (at weddings and funerals). In Nebit-Dag and in the oilfields there is a well-organized system of communal meals."

A noticeable change has taken place in the clothing of the Turkmens, especially of the men. The old-fashioned long robes (don) and large shaggy hats (telpek) were inconvenient for work in the oilfields; thus the men began to wear factory-made work-clothes and gradually abandoned their traditional dress.

"All Turkmen workers now wear European dress (gorodskoy kostyum), with the exception only of some middle-aged people who have still preserved some elements of the old national costume - the shaggy papakha [high fur hat, shaped like a busby, -Ed.]; shirts (sopy yaka and chak yaka) and trousers (dzhul'bar, balak) of old-fashioned cut." [There follows a description of the traditional dress, here omitted. -Ed.] The old type of

footwear yelken, made of dressed leather, and charyk made of undressed cow or camel hide, fur inside, are now rarely seen. Young Turkmens, like workers of other nationalities, wear Cossack hats (kubanki) of Astrakhan fur and Ukrainian shirts (gutsulka). The latter is worn also by many girls.

"As for women's clothing, it has suffered no great changes either in cut or colour since the 1930s. While until recently the basic material for women's clothing was home-woven cloth, now factory-made cloth is used exclusively. Women, like men, have begun to wear factory-made footwear. The outer garment of the majority of young Turkmen women is normally a coat of European cut, although the old robes have also been preserved. It is interesting to note that in some cases the national dress has been partly modified to make it more convenient for work. For example, the women are wearing their dresses much shorter than formerly and thread elastic through the sleeves. . . However, in spite of all these changes, national forms are showing more resistance to change in women's dress than in men's."

Family life

"While studying the family life of the Turkmens it is essential to take into account the fact that in the minds of many of them the consciousness of belonging to a definite clan or tribal subdivision is still alive. In the past the Turkmen people consisted of a large number of clans (urug) and subdivisions of clans (tire) which formed part of one or another tribal group (tayfa). . . To this day in the memory of middle-aged workers are preserved legends of their ancestors and of the leaders of their tire whose history generally totals five or six generations. Many remember also the legends of the origin of their urug."

As recently as the 1930s, the Turkmen workers hardly differed in their way of life from the herdsmen, fishermen and farmers from whom they came: "The Turkmens who had quite recently been engaged in agriculture in the habitual closed society of their fellow clan-members and close relatives, came up against completely new working conditions in the oilfields. For the first time they had to work together with workers not only of different ethnographical (tribal) groups but even of different nationalities. In those days the survivals of the old patriarchal system and the influence of the Muslim religion were still firmly entrenched. Many members of the workers' families were still engaged in agriculture, especially livestock breeding, and the workers kept in touch with them. During the early years of Soviet power hostile elements tried intensively to persuade them not to work in the oilfields and not to trust workers of other nationalities, and tried to fan the flames of national discord. Immense educational work, in the first place on the part of Party organizations, was necessary to overcome this."

The head of the old Turkmen family was the oldest man; the rest of the family were obedient to him, especially the women. According to Islamic law the Turkmen woman depended entirely on her husband. She was forbidden to engage in socially useful labour, and for a long time there were no women in the Nebit-Dag oilfields. Soviet power has had such success in its policy of emancipating Turkmen women that today they are employed everywhere. More than 1,000 are being educated in Nebit-Dag and its surroundings, while before the Revolution there was not a single literate Turkmen woman. Many Turkmen women work as teachers and directors of schools (many with a higher education).(3) Two hundred are employed in the enterprises of Nebit-Dag.(4)

Friendly relations between Turkmens and members of other nationalities are such that one frequently comes upon mixed marriages, especially with Russians and Ukrainians. At every wedding or public festival representatives of other nationalities take part. Workers of different nationalities occupy neighbouring flats in the same block. At the same time such religious feasts as Uraza (Ramazan) and Kurban Bayram(5), together with the traditional rites connected with the birth and upbringing of children and with marriage are still frequently found.

The old view on daughters, that they are a burden, has been eliminated. "At the present time the inferior position of girls. . . in Turkmen workers' families has been done away with. More than 230 children of Turkmen workers are being educated in Russian schools; the Russian language has become the schoolchildren's second native language. . . The schools of Nebit-Dag and its surroundings contain more than 5,760 children, 2,687 of whom are Turkmen."(6)

"Although the cultural level of the Turkmen workers of Nebit-Dag is steadily rising, nevertheless there can still be observed among them certain rites which were widespread in the past". The azan, or prayer made by a mulla in honour of a newly-born boy, the chileden chykarmak - the custom of showing a child to the neighbours on the fortieth day after its birth (during the first forty days it is in danger from evil spirits), the dishlik toy - the festival of the tooth, held on the appearance of the child's first tooth to ensure that his teeth should be sharp and strong, the gulpak toy - the festival of the hair, a ceremonial cutting of the child's hair on its second birthday, and sunnet (circumcision) carried out when the child is five, six or seven - all these customs are still quite strong among the workers of Kazakhaul and Turkmenaul and among the rural population surrounding Nebit-Dag.

Marriage

At the beginning of the present century it was still customary for girls to be married at the age of 9-12 and boys at that of 12-15, the marriage being arranged by their parents, sometimes before the children's birth or while they were still very young. The Yamut Turkmen did not practise, as did the Kara-Kalpaks for example, clan exogamy.(7) Even now cross-cousin marriages (between first and second cousins) are allowed, and even recommended.

Now, however, young men and women marry freely on grounds of mutual agreement and love. "The traditional marriage rites can still be observed everywhere. . . Together with the ancient rites new features can be observed in the modern marriage; a greater participation of young women in the ceremony, the performing of Russian and Azerbaydzhani songs and dances, etc. An interesting feature is that the bride is now carried out of her parents' house to the groom not on a horse or camel, as before, but most often in a truck (the groom's party frequently comes to fetch her in two or three trucks, taxis or motorcycles). The radiator of the bride's truck is sometimes decorated with the duye bashlyk shawl, a bag of carpet material (duye khalyk) is hung over the side of the vehicle while the girls standing in the chassis hold stretched out a richly embroidered curtain (kedzhebe). One can see in this a transformation of the ancient custom of taking away the bride in a tent set up on the back of a camel and bearing the same name - kedzhebe."

The weddings of the Yamut-Dzhafarbays differ from those of other Turkmen groups, including those of the Yamut-Atabays. The performance of the zikir(8) (a dance performed by a porkhan (soothsayer) while curing diseases) is an important part of the ceremony. Among this tribe can still be seen other traditional rites: the locking of the young couple's house against the bride and her party by young people who only open after they have received gifts, and a mock fight between the groom's guests (gelinalidzhi) who have come to take the bride, and the bride's guests, who defend her. This fight (dalash) is started by the women; the men join in later. The day of a wedding is still marked by a wrestling match (goresh) in which Russians, Azerbaydzhanis, Kazakhs etc., now take part. The winners are presented with prizes contributed by the relatives and friends of the groom.

Like the zikir dances, the musaib (best man)(9) is found only among the Yamut-Dzhafarbays. He accompanies the groom and helps in any way necessary, so as himself to receive similar help at his own marriage. The musaib at his own expense entertains the groom's friends for three days before the ceremony, smooths over any objections made by brothers or male relatives of the bride when the groom's representatives come for her, etc.

"At present one rarely meets such customs as kaytarma (the return of

the bride to her parents' house for a definite period), gizlenmek (elopement), etc. Bride price (kalym) also has disappeared from the way of life of Turkmen workers. However, cases can still be observed when kalym is taken in a concealed form as a 'gift' from the groom's family which sometimes reaches a large sum of several thousand rubles."

Conclusion

"No matter how great the changes which have taken place in the family life of Turkmen workers, the harmful survivals in their family life have still not been completely overcome. They are supported most often by the older generation. All this is being combated by means of a campaign of scientific enlightenment and education, but, apparently, not energetically enough. It is obvious, however, that this inheritance of the past cannot long persist among Turkmen workers if it meets the correct attitude on the part of Soviet society."

Notes

(1) ARKHIV OB'YEDINENIYA "TURKMENNEFT'", G. NEBIT-DAG, fund 1, file 270, list 2. By the 1st October 1957 the number of workers employed at the installations of Turkmenneft' had reached 15,728 men, 4,001 of whom were Turkmens.

(2) TURKMENSKIY NAROD V BOR'BE ZA VYPOLNENIYE CHETVERTOY PYATILETKI. T.G. Samedov, Moscow, 1953, p.7.

(3) MATERIALY NEBITDAGSKOGO GORODSKOGO OTDELA NARODNOGO OBRAZOVANIYA ZA 1957 G.

(4) VYSHKA (newspaper), 25th November 1956.

(5) It is interesting to note that during the first days of the feast of uraza in the evenings groups of boys and girls go around the houses singing songs and receive gifts of money, cakes and sweets.

(6) MATERIALY NEBITDAGSKOGO GORODSKOGO OTDELA NARODNOGO OBRAZOVANIYA ZA 1958 G.

(7) "Byt karakalpakskogo kolkhoznogo aula", T.A. Zhdanko, SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1949, No.2, p.53.

(8) The word zikir is of Arabic origin and refers also to the frenzy (radeniye) of the Dervishes. (See TURETSKO-RUSSKIY SLOVAR', Moscow, 1945, p.590.)

(9) The word musaib is of Arabic origin and means 'acquaintance', 'comrade' or 'collocutor'. (See SRAVNITEL'NYY SLOVAR' TURETSKO-TATARSKOGO NARECHIYA, Vol.II, St.Petersburg, 1871, p.235.)

The archaeology of Lake Issyk-Kul'

Almost the whole of the northern coast-line of Lake Issyk-Kul' has been excavated by the Kirgiz Academy of Sciences this year. Potsherds, fragments of wood, spear and arrow heads and bricks have been found. The excavations reveal that in the Middle Ages there were numerous Turkic settlements along the coast and the finds show quite a high level of craftsmanship. Three hypotheses are advanced as to how the settlements were submerged: (1) following their destruction by Chinghiz Khan there was a rise in the lake level; (2) the water rose gradually making the population move to higher ground; (3) it rose so suddenly that the settlements were flooded before the inhabitants could escape. The third supposition is the most plausible: it is confirmed by the large number of human bones found near Grigor'yevka, vast quantities of fragments of domestic goods found and by the fact that tectonic movements in the Tyan'-Shan' are quite frequent. Excavations will continue in 1960. (See also pp.351-8 above.)

SK. 5.9.59

Afro-Asian cooperative organizations meet in Tashkent

The seminar of representatives of cooperative organizations of Asia and Africa opened in Tashkent early in August and continued until 15th September.

PV. 23.8.59; P. 3.9.59

N E W S D I G E S T

The following items are taken from newspapers and periodicals received during the period 1st July-30th September 1959. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Administrative changes

Azerbaydzhan (See also CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VII, No.3, p.275.)

M.A. Iskenderov appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers in place of V.Yu. Akhundov. BR. 11.7.59

V.Ye. Semichastnyy appointed Second Secretary of the Central Committee in place of D.N. Yakovlev, retired through illness. P. 13.8.59

A.V. Kardashev appointed Chairman of the Council of State Security in place of F.I. Kopylov. BR. 2.9.59

Turkmenistan

P.P. Galonskiy relieved of post of Chairman of State Planning Commission and appointed First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers in place of G.A. Khorev. TI. 8.9.59

D.I. Pishchulin appointed Chairman of the Council of State Security in place of S.G. Bannikov. TI. 13.9.59

Uzbekistan

F.Ye. Titov appointed Second Secretary of the Central Committee in place of R.Ye. Mel'nikov. PV. 11.9.59

Territorial changes

Azerbaydzhan

By decree of 24th August 1959 the settlement of Ismailly, Ismailly

rayon, has been included in the category of settlements of town type.
VVS. 3.9.59

By decree of 1st September 1959 the settlement of Agdzhabedi, Agdzhabedi rayon, has been included in the category of settlements of town type.
VVS. 17.9.59

Uzbekistan-Tadzhikistan

In connection with the transfer from Uzbekistan to Tadzhikistan of 50,500 hectares of the Golodnaya step', the new boundary has been confirmed between the two republics by decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 1st July 1959:

From the junction of the boundaries of Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan 250 metres west of the railway bridge across the Farkhad diversion canal (derivatsionnyy kanal), the new boundary turns west on the south side of this canal along the railway line to the bridge on the main Begovat - Yangi-Yer road and along this road to the pumping station on canal M-2. Then along canal M-2 to its intersection with the Begovat - Ursat'yevskaya railway and along the railway to approximately 1.6km. east of Ursat'yevskaya.

From here the boundary turns south-west for 2km. until it meets the main Ursat'yevskaya - Ura-Tyube road and runs south-east along this road until its intersection with the planned path of canal TM-1. The boundary follows this canal for 5.5km. to the west, then turns north until it meets the Ursat'yevskaya - Obruchevo railway at a point 300 metres west of the railway buildings, leaving the village of Khavast in Uzbekistan.

Here the boundary follows the railway south-west for 25km. to a point 1km. east of Obruchevo station where it turns south to a point 1.3km. south-east of the station.

From this point the boundary turns south-east for 6.7km. across the 444.7 metre contour and after a further 5.4km. in the same direction reaches the height of 469.6 metres. Two kilometres to the east of this point the boundary reaches the planned path of a canal which is projected approximately along the 480 metre contour. The boundary then turns east along the path of this canal for approximately 31.5km. to the road leading to Uyaz-Kishlak and follows this road south for 7km. to the existing republican boundary.
VVS. 9.7.59

Tadzhikistan

By decree of 7th August 1959 the Regar rayon and town soviets have been combined. The town of Regar has been subordinated to republican organs of control.
VVS. 20.8.59

By decree of 5th September 1959 the Shugnan rayon soviet (Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast) has been joined to the Khorog town soviet of workers' deputies, with the subordination to the latter of the village soviets of Vankala, Darmorakht, Porshinev and Barsem. VVS. 17.9.59

Kazakhstan

By decree of 29th June 1959 the Kurashasaysk workers' settlement, Aktyubinsk city soviet, Aktyubinsk oblast, has been included in the category of rural settlements and subordinated to the Marzhanbulak rural soviet, Klyuchevoy rayon. VVS. 16.7.59

By decree of 31st July 1959 the inhabited point Aktau, Gur'yev oblast, has been included in the category of workers' settlements. VVS. 20.8.59

By decree of 14th August 1959 the boundaries of the city of Dzhambul have been extended to include the workers' settlements of Dzhambul and Sakharozavodskiy. VVS. 3.9.59

ARCHAEOLOGY

An expedition sent out by the Department of Oriental Studies of the AN/SSSR has returned from the Pamirs with 27 valuable manuscripts found in villages of the Shugnan and Roshtkala rayons of the Gorno-Badakhshan AO.

The finds include fragments and complete works by Nosir Khisrou, tenth century poet and traveller.

A manuscript containing the adventures of Sayydn, part of the collection SARGUZASHT by Khasan Sabbakh, has also been discovered. This work was formerly known only by fragments quoted in Dzhuvayni's WORLD HISTORY. I. 13, 19.9.59

There has long been a theory among orientalists that the defensive walls which once encircled the oases of Bukhara and Merv and the remains of fortress wall which have been found scattered about the territory of Uzbekistan, point to the existence of a wall defending Central Asia against nomad incursions. This theory, it is reported, has now been confirmed.

From a close study of the extant sections of the wall Uzbek scholars have determined that walls were first built around oases and then joined. The wall was built approximately 2,000 years ago. At that time there were eight large oases on the territory of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tadzhikistan: Merv, Bukhara, Shakhrisyabz, Samarkand, Nurata, Dzhizak, Fergana and Tashkent. It is supposed either that the walls around the

cases were joined together in the eighth century, or that the wall was built earlier and restored then. PV. 9.7.59

CONFERENCES

Since the publication of material on the Joint Scientific Session of the Academies of Science of the USSR, Central Asia and Kazakhstan in CAR, Vol. VII, Nos.2-3, a new summary of its proceedings has appeared in VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK SSSR, 1959, No.8. It adds some information on the work of the conference, particularly on the present prosperity of the Central Asian peoples which they owe indirectly to the incorporation. This is emphasized for a twofold purpose: to illustrate the culmination of the "ancient friendship" and, from the propaganda point of view, to contrast it with the oppression of some Asiatic countries by the imperialists and to derive the usual conclusions from it. Another interesting point is a mention of cultural progress made by the Central Asians in the Tsarist period, which contradicts what various Soviet publications have made their readers believe. A.V. Pyaskovskiy revealed at the conference that the influence of the "leading Russian culture" on the Central Asian peoples had caused "the emergence amongst them of a Pleiad of distinguished cultural and social workers - scholars, writers and composers". He ended his lecture with an outline of some of the beneficial effects of the Revolution: "The colonial nations, once without any rights, have become free and enjoy equality of rights. Their territories, torn into pieces under the Tsars, have been united into independent national states which of their own free choice have become members of the Soviet Union and enjoy a status equal to that of the others. The national languages have become, besides Russian, state languages".

The same subject was discussed more widely by I.M. Muminov. Following the teaching of Lenin, the Central Asians have overcome their old economic and cultural backwardness and, by-passing the capitalist stage of evolution, proceeded to build socialism. The economic transformation of Central Asia has been achieved by "planned building and development of industry in the national republics of the Soviet East, creating a new system of economical division of labour which is based on equality, mutual trust and help and cooperation of the nationalities. . ."

A.A. Altmyshbayev dealt with the cultural progress made since the Revolution: although the incorporation had drawn the Central Asians closer to the Russian culture and the ideas of the Russian revolutionary democrats and Marxists, only the Bolshevik victory has set the country on the road to freedom and progress. Illiteracy has been suppressed and a modern education system developed. Great successes were the emancipation of women and the emergence of a national intelligentsia. Though Soviet culture has grown on the basis of the international ideology of Marxism-Leninism, "it develops

in accordance with the new, socialist content and national form".

I.I. Mints referred, as did other speakers, to the example provided by Soviet Central Asia for the underdeveloped and colonial countries of the East: "Now the Soviet republics in Central Asia and the Chinese People's Republic, together with the other socialist states of Asia, like a gigantic beacon illuminate the way to socialism for the Eastern peoples . . . The ideologists of colonialism in their struggle against the growing influence of the Central Asian republics attack the idea of the friendship of the Soviet peoples and, by twisting its nature, attempt to deny the voluntariness of the unification of the peoples of our country."

EDUCATION

A recent article on Kazakh "Universities of Culture" noted that some of them were departing from their purpose, which is "to educate the man of the future", "to implant in people the principles of communist ideology and conscientiousness".

During the past year 53 such establishments (which are, in effect, evening schools) had been founded in the republic. Some were well-run; an example was that of Alma-Ata. Here, before the "university" was set up those who wished to attend were questioned as to the subjects they wished to hear treated. On the basis of their answers a course of lectures lasting 13 months was worked out. Attention was given to the problem of interesting both middle-school graduates and those with a higher education. The course of lectures covered scientific and technical subjects, the material of the XXIst Party Congress and Marxist-Leninist aesthetics.

Other "universities", however, had given too many lectures on the fine arts and had completely avoided science and technology. In some cases trivial lectures were being delivered, such as "The Rules of Good Behaviour", "How to Dress Well and Fashionably", "Style and Stilyagi", "Make-up and the Care of the Skin."

Such subjects may be interesting, observes the author, but they do not form part of the business of a "university of culture."

PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1959, No.9

Recently published statistics on the teaching staff and student body of the Turkmen Gor'kiy State University give the following information.

Among the teaching staff of the university 14 nationalities are represented, including 83 Russians, 64 Turkmens, 10 Ukrainians, 4 White Russians, 9 Armenians, 6 Azerbaydzhanis, 8 Jews and 10 Tatars.

Total pupils, both full-time and those taking evening classes and correspondence courses, number 3,842, including 1,149 Turkmens of whom 266 were women. In the historical faculty the comparable figures are: total 468; Turkmens 127; women 44. Of the 257 specialists turned out in 1958, 172 were Turkmens including 16 women. Of the 25 full-time students who graduated from the history faculty in 1958, 20 were Turkmens including 4 women. VOPROSY ISTORII, 1959, No.7

At the VIth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CP of Tadzhikistan, held on 15th July 1959 (KT. 17.7.59), the report delivered by the First Secretary, T.U. Ul'dzhabayev, dealt exclusively with questions of Party organization. The most interesting sections were those dealing with the educational level of cadres which are summarized below:

Gorno-Badakhshan AO

Out of 56 kolkhoz chairmen and 299 "brigadiers", etc., there is no agricultural specialist with a higher technical education and only 11 with a middle technical education. Forty per cent of the total (118 men) have only an elementary education and are barely literate.

Leninabad oblast

Out of 119 kolkhoz chairmen only one has a higher technical and 7 a middle technical education. Out of 1,851 "brigadiers", etc., only 25 have higher or middle technical education. Of the chairmen 66 per cent, and 92 per cent of the "brigadiers", etc., are without middle technical education although in the oblast as a whole there are 295 agricultural specialists with higher and middle technical education.

Stalinabad city

Out of 52 directors of undertakings only 30 per cent have middle or higher technical education.

Out of 3,000 engineer-technicians employed by the Sovnarkhoz 33 per cent have no technical education. Out of 89 chief engineers 57 have a higher technical education, 17 middle technical education and 15 none at all.

It should be noted that Ul'dzhabayev's point is not that there is a lack of sufficiently educated cadres, but that they are too seldom to be found occupying responsible posts. It should also be remembered that an engineer without a formal technical education is not necessarily unfit for employment for that reason. His practical knowledge will probably be extensive.

Similar examples of an inefficient use of available resources are provided by individual factories. In the Stalinabad furniture factory out of 43 technicians received in 1958-9 only 7 are employed in their trade; 27 are employed as ordinary workers and 9 had to leave because no work was assigned them, in spite of the fact that the factory needs technicians. Similarly in Tadzhikenergostroy where 156 men with practical knowledge only (praktiki) are employed as engineers, 8 men with a middle technical education are not being employed according to their trade.

Of workers in academic institutions (nauchnyy kadry) Ul'dzhabayev says that between 1953 and 1959 the number of nauchnyye rabotniki (a term which includes all qualified research workers and some teachers in VUZ) was doubled and the number of non-Russian candidates for doctorates and doctors increased five times over the same period. At present in the republic there are 32 doctors of science and 426 candidates of all nationalities.

It appears, however, that the number of qualified academic personnel is inadequate. There are three chairs of physics at the Tadzhik State University but only two candidates of sciences to occupy them. At the Leninabad Teachers' Training College the chairs of physics, chemistry and higher mathematics are occupied by men without an academic degree. Even in the energetics section of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences, of 6 research workers only one has a degree. Out of 629 nauchnyye rabotniki in the same Academy, 37 work also in other institutions: the 34 leading members of the Academy of Sciences between them carry out 256 various academic and social duties. They are thus heavily overworked.

Ul'dzhabayev commented unfavourably on the lack of academic cadres of non-Russian nationality. There is in the whole republic no native with a doctorate in physics, mathematics, chemistry, economics or agriculture. This may be partly explained by the fact which he had given earlier that the majority of teachers with a higher education stayed in the towns, while the country schools had to make do with less well qualified teachers. The great majority of Tadzhiks live in the country districts.

A point of interest in the debates which followed Ul'dzhabayev's report was the presence of the general commanding the Turkestan Military District, Colonel-General I.I. Fedyuninskiy. He spoke thanking the Central Committee and Government for the aid given by them to the military forces of the district. He did not, however, define the nature of this aid.

IRRIGATION

The second section of the Karakum canal is to run from the Murgab river near Mary to Tedzhen, a distance of 130km. This will permit the irrigation of another 45,000 hectares in the Tedzhen oasis. In the region of Staraya Krepost' a reservoir is to be built with a capacity of 440m. cubic metres.

P. 1.9.59

PHILOLOGY

Some of the difficulties which Tadzhik writers and translators experience in expressing Communist terminology are well brought out in an article in KT. of 2.10.59 called "The Further Development of Philosophy in Tadzhikistan". The article points out that the absence of a properly worked out philosophical terminology results in many discrepancies and varieties in the translation of important Communist terms. For instance, in one translation the term 'contradiction' (protivorechiye) is translated as ziddiyat and in another in an entirely different way, as mokhalefat. "There are also cases", says the article, "where quite different concepts are translated by the same word; for example, the translator of Lenin's work MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM, translates such concepts as 'perception' (vospriyatiye), 'learning' (znaniye), and 'notion' (poznaniye) by the one word danesh. A translation of this kind mutilates the meaning of the Russian text. Or to take another example, different concepts as yavleniye in the philosophical sense of 'essence' and yavleniye in the sense of 'event' are both translated by the word hadeseh." The Persian language, of which Tadzhik is a form, is, of course, rich in philosophical terms and it is interesting to note that no suggestion is made that Russian words should be substituted for Persian words in order to avoid ambiguity.

THE BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

SOVIET REAPPRAISAL OF EASTERN IDEOLOGIES AND RELIGIONS*

The need for a reappraisal

The 50th anniversary of Lenin's major work on philosophy, MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM(1), has been brought to the notice of Soviet orientalists, and also of the wider Soviet public interested in eastern affairs, by articles in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.2 and SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.5 of 1959. Lenin's "great work of creative Marxism", says A.D. Litman in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK, dealt a shattering blow to bourgeois idealist philosophy when it appeared, and today is a powerful weapon against bourgeois ideologies and against revisionist falsifications of Marxism; it "inspires the advanced scholars of the whole world to struggle for materialism, democracy and peace and against idealism and reaction". For Soviet orientalists and philosophers studying the ideologies of the east, says Litman, Lenin's work is of "guiding significance"; there has been "a certain lagging behind" in this field, which a closer attention to "Lenin's great ideas" will help to overcome.

Soviet scholars, including many from the republics of Central Asia, Litman recalls, have produced valuable studies on the development of "progressive philosophical and social-political ideas" among the peoples of Central Asia and Transcaucasia - although, he remarks, the link between the latter and the philosophical thought of Persia, the Arab countries, India and China has not been clearly enough brought out in one important work.(2) As of particular interest Litman mentions the works of Academician I.M. Muminov of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences in which he analyses "the process of the development and struggle of various trends in the ideology of the Uzbek people" in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, and studies by K. Beysembiyev and Z.Sh. Radzhabov in

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* An abridged version of parts of this article appeared in the MIZAN NEWSLETTER, No.7, July 1959.

the field of progressive philosophical and social-political thought among the Kazakh and Tadzhik peoples respectively. The publication in recent years of works on "such leading figures of the scientific and philosophic thought of the East" as Rudaki, Omar Khayyam, Abu Ali ibn-Sina (Avicenna) and the Azerbaydzhani philosopher of the eleventh century, Bahmanyar, is a step also praised by Litman.

The history of ideologies of the non-Soviet East has been studied by such renowned Soviet orientalists as Academicians F.I. Shcherbatskiy, S.F. Ol'denburg and B.Ya. Vladimirtsov and - in the field of Arab social thought - I.Yu. Krachkovskiy. Nevertheless, says Litman, in the light of "the historical processes which are taking place in countries of the East" Soviet study of "problems connected with the ideologies of peoples of the East" is still seriously inadequate - for example, study of the "powerful philosophical traditions" which, as in India, have influenced national movements for liberation from imperialism, or, as in China, are the centuries-old cultural and historical heritage of a great people. Also serious, Litman declares, is "the absence of works drawing general conclusions on the history of the ideologies of the Middle East".

It may be asked whether there are special reasons for a Soviet reappraisal of eastern ideologies at this particular juncture. (Litman makes it clear that in the term "ideologies" he includes social thought, philosophical traditions and religions as well as political ideologies.) Litman's own account of the reasons is as follows:

> "The very process of the crisis and breaking up of the colonial system of imperialism, the powerful growth in the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa, the considerable successes achieved by the peoples of the East who have entered on the path of independent political and economic development, the magnificent achievements of the Asiatic countries of people's democracy in all fields of life - all this renders a many-sided and profound study of the ideologies of the peoples of the East and the ideology of their national liberation struggle vitally necessary. . . The historical processes which are taking place in countries of the East make it imperatively necessary to produce works which draw general conclusions and which with thoroughness and profundity analyse and disclose the general laws and specific peculiarities in the formation of ideologies of peoples of the East in connection with concrete experience of their social-economic and political development."

The above suggests that recent developments make it necessary for Soviet scholars to examine "specific peculiarities" of eastern ideologies which have hitherto escaped their analysis and to fit them into a coherent pattern which will accord with Leninist principles, including, evidently,

the Middle East:

> "The development and successes of the national liberation movement in Arab countries and the growth of national consciousness of the Arab peoples raises particularly acutely the problem of preparing monograph works devoted to the study and interpretation of the centuries-old history of their philosophical and social-political thought. The absence of works drawing general conclusions on the history of the ideologies of the Middle East peoples is a substantial gap."

In the eastern countries themselves, Litman points out, scholars are doing fundamental research into the history of their social and philosophical thought - in India, Persia, the Arab countries and above all in China, where the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of China has drawn up a 12-year plan for such studies.

Eastern religions and eastern materialism

Litman points out that "in the development of ideological trends in countries of the East religion has played, and in a number of cases plays at the present time, a far from minor role". He goes on to speak of Gandhism in India as an example of a national liberation movement based on religious dogmas. These he used to popularize his doctrines among the people; thus when his policy of non-violence brought consciously undertaken sufferings upon his followers, he likened them to the ancient Indian religious custom of tapasya (penance). To illustrate the development of ideological trends in India in this connection, Litman quotes Jawaharlal Nehru:

> "This idea of a certain penance, tapasya, is common to the thinking of the Indians, to both selected thinkers and to the illiterate lower classes. It is alive now, as it was alive several thousand years ago and it must be appreciated in order to understand the psychology at the basis of the mass movements which shook India under the leadership of Gandhi."(3)

This Litman contrasts with the "extremely reactionary doctrines" propagated by the Kuomintang in the name of Confucianism. At the same time, he asserts that eastern peoples have their own "materialist traditions"; and in the light of this he denounces "reactionary statements of bourgeois ideologists on the so-called 'contemplative-mystical' turn of mind of eastern thinkers and the 'inferiority' of the philosophical teachings of the East". He approves the views of "progressive" Eastern scholars who deprecate those of their fellow-countrymen who hold "nihilistic views on materialist trends in the history of social thought of their peoples", among them "the progressive Japanese philosopher Yanagida Kendzyuro [who]

described, for example, the contemptuous attitude towards materialism on the part of certain scholars of Japan: 'The word "materialism" means to many people nothing more than the worship of crude matter. These people consider that materialism in comparison with idealism and religion represents an ideology of a lower level, as a result of which they are contemptuous of it.'"(4)

Indian philosophical and social thought, says Litman, is "not only not inferior in its historical significance to the philosophical thought of the West, but in a number of questions is ahead of it"; the Indian philosopher M. Hiriyanna has "shown the existence of a solid materialist, atheistic stream in the development of Indian social thought". The Indian philosopher Manaranjan Roy, Litman continues, "regards the development of philosophical thought in ancient India as the history of the struggle of two basic trends: materialism and idealism. . ." He also notes "the important part" played by the Communist press of India.

In the Middle East too "advanced scholars" have done valuable work in this field:

> "The Persian scholar Zabihollah Safa on the basis of a profound study of primary sources and extensive factual material gives a detailed account of the development of sciences and philosophy in the Near and in part of the Middle East.(5) The Arab researcher Yuhana Qumayr in his book THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ARABS, published in 1947 in Beirut, shows the enormous fruitful development of philosophical thought among Arab peoples."

Soviet orientalists and philosophers, Litman says, must "produce fundamental Marxist works giving. . . a profound analysis of materialist philosophical doctrines in the East". He goes on to explain how Lenin saw the history of philosophical thought in terms of a constant struggle between idealism and materialism - in Lenin's words, "a struggle which, in the last analysis, expresses the tendencies and ideology of hostile classes in contemporary society". This doctrine of the class origin of ideological trends, says Litman, is basic for the study of eastern ideologies and the "complex, contradictory and specifically original processes" in their development, each of which must be seen in its proper historical perspective:

> "Only a profound analysis of philosophical and social-political ideas in relation to the concrete arrangement of class forces, taking into consideration the peculiarities of the social practices of the time, makes possible an intelligible explanation of their real role in the historical development of a given people."

The Soviet view of Islam

Articles on the MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM anniversary have appeared widely in Soviet philosophical and Party journals; and it might therefore be thought that the PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA article merely represents a Soviet orientalist's tribute to the anniversary and to Leninist orthodoxy. However, the purposeful tone of the article and its authoritative references to "lagging behind" and shortcomings in Soviet studies suggest that a programme of analysis and reassessment of eastern ideologies is in fact envisaged, which, among other things, will entail a closer examination of the ideologies of Middle East nationalist movements and also of Middle East philosophical and religious traditions - that is, principally, Islam.

The Soviet view of Islam is stated as follows in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Vol.18, 1953:

> "Islam, like other religions, has always played a reactionary role, representing in the hands of the exploiting classes an instrument of spiritual oppression of the workers, and it was used by the foreign colonizers for the enslavement of the peoples of the East."

However, speaking of the sects of Islam, the article says that these were in some cases "an expression of powerless protest of the working masses against class oppression and feudal oppression". Ye.A. Belyayev, in MUSLIM SECTARIANISM, 1957, says that popular movements which appeared in the guise of Islamic sects could not in the nature of things be successful:

> "The religious form of these movements must be recognized as one of the basic reasons for the final failure of the sectarian movements, the rank-and-file participants in which attempted to establish a kingdom of truth and justice on the earth; no religion can serve as a means of liberating the people from oppression and exploitation."

Nevertheless, in the Soviet view, religion can be the vehicle of progressive change: in its article on "religion" the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia (Vol.36, 1955) says:

> "In the history of society the replacement of certain religious beliefs by others may, in determined conditions of social structure, be connected with progressive manifestations in the life of peoples, as for example early Christianity, the conversion of Russia, etc.; but this does not alter either the reasons for the emergence of religious ideas or their essence."

This duality in the Soviet academic approach to religion is the counterpart of the dual attitude adopted in the matter of anti-religious propaganda - the attitude defined, for instance, in a Party Central Committee statement published in PRAVDA of 11th November 1954, which declared that the Soviet Communist Party "considers it necessary to conduct a profound systematic scientific-atheist propaganda, at the same time, however, not allowing the religious feelings of believers and also of devotees of a cult to be offended".

In his PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA article Litman, like other Soviet writers, is not unapproving in his references to political aspects of certain religious movements; but, unlike other Soviet writers, he does not accompany these references with the traditional Soviet condemnation of religion as such. Instead, he suggests that the natural corrective for eastern religious idealism is to be found in the East itself, in traditions of eastern materialism which it is now the duty of Soviet scholars to disclose and expound. This study of eastern materialism apparently represents a new initiative for Soviet scholars; it would not be surprising if it were accompanied by a new approach to eastern religions themselves.

Notes

(1) In THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF COMMUNISM, 1951, p.168, R.N. Carew Hunt says of Lenin's MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM: "This work was his [Lenin's] major contribution to Marxist philosophy in his lifetime. . . After the October Revolution it became, however, the standard of intellectual orthodoxy, any departure from which could be represented as being as much an act of treachery to the revolutionary movement as were divergences on questions of Party strategy and tactics."

(2) OCHERKI PO ISTORII FILOSOFSKOY I OBSHCHESTVENNO-POLITICHESKOY MYSLI NARODOV SSSR. 2 vols., 1955-6; published jointly by Inst. of Phil., AN/SSSR and Moscow State Univ.

(3) THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA. Jawaharlal Nehru, p.95.

(4) THE EVOLUTION OF MY WORLD OUTLOOK. Yanagida Kendzyuro, Moscow, 1957, p.132.

(5) A footnote here mentions Zabihollah Safa's HISTORY OF RATIONAL SCIENCES IN THE HISTORY OF ISLAM UP TO THE FIFTH CENTURY A.H., Tehran, 1913 - in Persian.

THE MURDER OF GRIBOYEDOV IN TEHRAN

January 1829

On 30th January 1829 the Russian Ambassador in Tehran was murdered by a mob which burst into the Embassy buildings, massacred with one exception the entire staff, and destroyed and looted the buildings. The ambassador was Aleksandr Sergeyevich Griboyedov, one of the most brilliant young writers of his age and the author of a classical Russian comedy GORE OT UMA (Woe from Wit).

Most historians are agreed that the general cause of the outrage was widespread hostility to Russia in Persia at that time, and that the immediate provocation was Griboyedov's personal unpopularity and tactlessness in Tehran. Since the turn of the century, Russia, as she pressed south through the Caucasus mountains, had been almost constantly in conflict with Persia: the conflict sometimes taking the form of open war and sometimes of an uneasy peace. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Christian principalities of Transcaucasia, chief of which was Georgia, turned to the Russians, who by now were established on the northern foothills of the Caucasus, for protection against their Muslim overlords. George XII of Georgia bequeathed his kingdom to Russia in 1801 and in order to establish her position there, Russia had perforce to extend her rule over other lesser vassals of Persia. The shifting alliances of the Napoleonic wars gave Persia significance to the European powers and brought her new allies. In 1807 Napoleon promised to help Persia to recover her lost northern provinces, but French military aid was withdrawn after the Tilsit agreement between Alexander I and Napoleon. Britain stepped into the place left by France and under a treaty of 1810 promised financial and military aid; but 1812 saw the renewal of the Anglo-Russian alliance and the end of Russia's war with Turkey. Persia was left at the mercy of her northern neighbour. In 1813 the Russo-Persian war was temporarily ended by the treaty of Gulistan by which Persia formally ceded her northern provinces to Russia. But the treaty was not ratified until 1816 and even then the ambiguous wording of certain clauses continued to give rise to diplomatic disputes and general ill-feeling. At the instigation of Abbas Mirza, the Heir-Apparent and ruler of Persian Azarbaijan, Persia continued to prepare for another war. Early in 1826 rumours of the Decembrist revolt reached Tehran. The Persians seized the opportunity and in July 1826 their troops

crossed the frontier. But the Persian troops were no match for the Russians who, by the autumn of 1827, drove them back across the Aras River and advanced to Tabriz itself. By the treaty of Turkmanchay (February 1828) Russia retained her former conquests, with the addition of the khanate of Erivan, and Persia had to pay Russia an indemnity of five million tumans. One of the negotiators of this treaty was Griboyedov who a few months later was posted to Persia as Russian Ambassador.

Griboyedov had no illusions about his new position. His chief tasks were to receive the indemnity monies and to arrange for the exchange of prisoners. He had little sympathy with Persia or with oriental life, but he was aware of the effects of the crippling indemnity on an already impoverished land. He was no less conscious of the hostility felt by a humiliated and defeated Persia towards her victor and towards himself as the instrument of her humiliation. "What can I tell you about my life?" he wrote to V.S. Miklashevich on 3rd December 1828. "I watch to see that there is no treachery from this side during our skirmishes with the Turks." (Russia was engaged in a war with Turkey.) "I levy the indemnity quite successfully. I have no friends and I seek none. They must above all fear Russia and carry out the orders of the Emperor Nicholas, and I can assure you that in this I am more successful than those who would start to insinuate themselves into future Persian friendships. To all I appear stern and I am called sakhtir. . ." (the grasper or snatcher).

It has generally been agreed on the basis of the available evidence, which consists of Persian Government reports and the account given by the First Secretary, Mal'tsov, the sole survivor from the disaster, that the mob at whose hands the staff of the Russian Mission met their death were inspired by fanatical Muslim clergy and that Griboyedov was himself somewhat to blame for his overbearing behaviour. G.M. Petrov, however, a leading Soviet historian on Persia, published in 1952 a document found in the archives of a former commander of the Shah's Cossack Brigade which sheds new light on the murder. The document, written nearly seventy years after the murder, is an account of the incident compiled by Prince Suleyman Khan Melikov, whose uncle of the same name perished in the Russian Embassy alongside Griboyedov. Melikov was given his information by his father and other unspecified persons. According to his evidence: "The late Griboyedov was fearless, brave, honourable, upright, and devoted in the highest degree to his fatherland and State. He could not be moved by bribery or flattery. . . Like a hero, he defended the rights and interests of Russian subjects and Russian dependents. These qualities of Griboyedov were distasteful to the officials of the Persian Government. They were constantly malevolent towards him, and took counsel together to find means of driving him out of Persia. They were for ever trying to slander and accuse him. But the Ambassador paid no attention to all these intrigues. He continued firmly and unwaveringly to act in the interests of his country and of Russian subjects. When the officials of the Persian

Government saw that all their intrigues and machinations were useless, they first turned secretly to the Muslim clergy and by oaths and assurances convinced the clergy that if they allowed Griboyedov to continue to act as he had acted before, then, before long their Muslim religion would be abused and the Persian State would finally perish. Secondly, they alerted Shah Fath-Ali against Griboyedov and told him every day that not only was Griboyedov implacable, stern and insolent in matters to do with Russian subjects and Russia in general, but also that . . . he let no occasion slip to be insulting and disrespectful to the most august person of His Majesty. Gradually they turned the Shah against Griboyedov. Convinced of the need to remove such an unbearable ambassador, the Shah agreed to seek means to bridle this indomitable man." Melikov goes on to describe how, at the same time, two Georgians, prisoners in Persia, appealed to Griboyedov to use his good offices to enable them to return to their homeland. One was a certain Mirza Yaqub and the other a Georgian girl who claimed she had been forcibly married to the powerful Russophobe and uncle of the Heir-Apparent, Allahyar Khan. Griboyedov addressed notes to the Persian Government requesting their release. "Allahyar Khan, notorious for his scheming, cunning and hatred for Russia, asked for five days grace, implying that in those five days he would carry out the request of the Russian Ambassador. But instead of fulfilling Griboyedov's request, he went to the mojtahed of Tehran, Mirza Masih, and persuaded him to stir up the people against the late Griboyedov and the Russian Mission, and he also appeared before Shah Fath-Ali and reported to him that all the Tehran clergy, led by the mojtahed Mirza Masih, had decided unanimously to raise the people against Griboyedov. Shah Fath-Ali, believing himself to have been insulted by Griboyedov, said that he was not against this and that he would like to teach that man a lesson. The Shah's words emboldened Allahyar Khan and the mojtahed Mirza Masih. . ." At this time, Melikov continues, the Shah's chief eunuch and confidant was an Armenian who, learning of the plot, called Melikov's father to him and ordered him immediately to tell Griboyedov all that he knew and to warn him and all the members of the Russian Mission to escape on the following day when the outrage was to be perpetrated. Melikov's father came home and told his brother, Suleyman Khan Melikov. At dawn the next day, Suleyman Khan Melikov went to the Russian Mission, warned Griboyedov of the impending attack and urged him to take refuge with his staff at his own home. "The late Griboyedov scorned these stories, did not believe them and said that no one would dare to raise his hand against the Russian Imperial Mission." Suleyman Khan's companions reported that Griboyedov was adamant and even became angry with Suleyman Khan, calling him a coward. Suleyman Khan then sent one of his companions to the chief eunuch to tell him what had happened and himself resolved to stay with Griboyedov. Meanwhile, the chief eunuch, learning that the mojtahed had already gathered the people in the mosque and had pronounced sentence of death on Griboyedov, went to the Shah to urge him to prevent the outrage. The Shah said that he had already ordered one of his sons to disperse the people if they should attack the

Russian Mission, but the chief eunuch knew that in fact Prince Zill-es-Sultan "was occupied with his own affairs and had no thought of going to the Russian Mission". The chief eunuch "reminded the Shah that if he did not take immediate measures to prevent this scandal he would be answerable to the Russian Government. Angered at these words, Shah Fath-Ali. . . immediately sent his farrash-bashi (commander of the palace guard) with a troup of guards to defend the Russian Mission, with orders to disperse the people. . . and to apprehend the instigators of the disorder. But whether from fear, or intentionally, the farrash-bashi, like Prince Zill-es-Sultan, tarried." Unimpeded, the mob rushed to the Mission and started to batter down the doors. Suleyman Khan Melikov urged Griboyedov at least to gather his staff together for a united defence, but this too Griboyedov refused to do. In the slaughter that followed not one inmate of the Mission was left alive, and the buildings were wrecked and looted.

G.M. Petrov, who published Melikov's document, gives no evidence for its validity and, even if genuine, the information is all at best second-hand. Nonetheless it seems to be the only evidence on Griboyedov's murder from neither a Russian nor a Persian source: Melikov was an Armenian. It is interesting that in a footnote to his commentary, Petrov refers to an article in RUSSKOYE SLOVO No.214 of September 1910 which also used Melikov's memoirs, but, he writes, "an acquaintance with these 'memoirs' has convinced us that the facts have been distorted and given by the newspaper in a tendentious light, i.e. in the spirit of the official story according to which A.S. Griboyedov himself was at fault in all the events of the 30th January 1829." The newly discovered document certainly provides striking evidence for the Soviet line that the guilty party was the Persian Government itself. Petrov, indeed, even implies that the British, as the allies of Persia against Russia, were the true instigators of the murder.

The Russian Government accepted the Persian Government's denial of complicity. Russia was at the time once more at war with Turkey and most anxious to prevent a renewed war with Persia. A Persian envoy came to Moscow to make a humble apology to the Tsar and Persia paid off her indemnity to Russia; but there seems never to have been any question from the Russian side of retaliation by war or even of demanding "blood-money". [On this point V. Minorskiy has published a letter from the Shah to one of his sons discussing the compensation to be paid to the Russians.] Russia demanded that the instigators be punished and it seems probable that Mirza Masih was expelled from Tehran and that many of the mob were punished. But these were the only repercussions. Griboyedov, one of Russia's most brilliant writers, died for a policy in which he had little faith, in a country for whom he had little sympathy, and was unavenged by the government he had served perhaps over-zealously.

Sources

1. G.M. Petrov: "New material on the Murder of A.S. Griboyedov". UCHENYYE ZAPISKI INSTITUTA VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, 1952, VIII, pp. 146-65. This article gives the text of Melikov's document which is entitled "Information about the murder in Tehran of the Russian Imperial Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Minister to the Persian Court, Griboyedov, which was collected by Prince Suleyman Khan Melikov, whose own uncle Prince Suleyman Khan Melikov was killed on the same day in the Russian Imperial Mission together with the late Griboyedov and other members of the Russian Mission." The date of Melikov's document is 30th July 1897.

2. V. Minorskiy: "The 'blood-money' of Griboyedov. An unpublished document." Offprint from RUSSKAYA MYSL', Bk.III-V, 1923.

3. M.N. Pokrovskiy: DIPLOMATIYA I VOYNY TSARSKOY ROSSII V XIX STOLETII. Moscow, 1923, pp.179-95.

4. V.O. Klyucheskiy: SOCHINENIYA. Vol.V: A Course of Russian History, Part V, Moscow, 1958, pp.194-6.

Tadzhik kolkhozniks in Delhi exhibition

The "Communism" kolkhoz in the Pyandzh rayon of Tadzhikistan has been chosen, as the best kolkhoz in the republic, to take part in the World Exhibition of the Achievements of National Economy which is to take place this year in Delhi. KT. 2.8.59

Indian doctors visit Soviet Union

The well-known Indian doctors Khotuba and Pushpa Naik have arrived in the Soviet Union; they are husband and wife. P. 4.8.59

Indian film in Moscow festival

An Indian film opened the First Moscow International Film Festival. P. 5.8.59

MOHAMMAD HEJAZI - A PERSIAN NOVELIST

The following is an abridged translation of an article by D. Komissarov entitled "Mohammad Hejazi and his SERESHK", which appeared in KRATKIYE SOOBSHCHENIYE INSTITUTA VOSTOKO-VEDENIYA, 1958, No. XXVII.

In the article "The Feminist Movement in Persia" which appeared in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VII, No.1, and was taken from the same source, mention was made of Mohammad Hejazi on pages 78-79. In the present article, Komissarov expresses the view that in his later works, and particularly in SERESHK, Hejazi has been forced by public opinion to reflect the anti-American sentiments now said to be widespread among the Persian people.

. . .

Hejazi's career - Earlier works - PARVANEH and SERESHK - Conclusion.

Hejazi's career

Komissarov begins his article by describing Mohammad Hejazi as a famous Persian prose writer whose works occupy an important place among the last decade's large output of novels, short novels and short stories. The following biographical details are then given, taken largely from the works of Nasrollah Shifteh and Sadr Hashemi(1):

"Hejazi received a secondary education at the Tehran school of St. Louis, after which he lived in Europe for a while. Returning to Tehran he held various government posts at the Ministry of Posts and Telegraph and in the Finance Department. At the Institute for the Orientation of Public Opinion he directed the Press Commission while at the same time publishing the journal IRAN-E-EMRUZ, which was in fact an organ of the Commission; both the journal and the Institute as a whole had as their chief aim the glorification of Reza Shah and of his policy. After the events of August 1941 Hejazi was for a time head of the Persian propaganda department. In latter years he has held various official posts and has been abroad many times, recently visiting the USA."

Earlier works

Komissarov's account of Hejazi's earlier works begins as follows:

"Hejazi made his literary début at the beginning of the 1920s. While in Paris he wrote the novel HOMA which was first published in Persian at Tehran in 1927 and was twice reprinted in the following years. In 1929 he published the novel PARICHEHR which also went into a number of editions. His third novel, ZIBA, consists of two parts. The basic theme of all three novels is the fate of the Persian woman, but, whereas the author acquaints us with spoilt women from bourgeois families in the case of Parichehr and Ziba, in his portrayal of Homa he gives us an exemplary woman from the same social background. These novels are fundamentally didactic in character, although we do also find in them sometimes a criticism of some aspects of the life of representatives of the urban middle class (ZIBA).

"Hejazi has also written some short stories which were published in Tehran journals and reprinted in collected editions, one of which, AINEH (The Mirror)(2) contained fifty stories. These are written in simple language and deal with the private aspects of domestic life and some of the negative features of human nature. The author makes an appeal to do no harm, not to oppress one's neighbour and to improve men's morals. There are many such stories, including AIBJUYI KAR-E-BAD AST (Looking for Faults is a Bad Thing), DO RAFIQ (Two Comrades), and PEZESHK-E CHASHM (The Oculist)."

All the stories in this collection show, according to Komissarov, Hejazi's tendency to use the medium for preaching against the social vices hindering the development of society. It is natural that Hejazi should use the short story and brief narrative of one to three pages, Komissarov continues, as these are more suited to modern conditions in Persia than the long novel which is difficult to print and to sell and reaches only a limited circle of readers, whereas the short story appearing in a cheap magazine or newspaper is more accessible.

Komissarov then turns to two more recent volumes of collected short stories: ANDISHEH (Meditation) and SAGHER (The Goblet)(3). These stories he characterizes as simple descriptions of a particular event followed by a concluding admonition and as attempts by their author "to show various negative aspects of human nature and some of the defects in Persian life". Komissarov then criticizes the "idealistic" and "ineffective" solutions which Hejazi proposes for eliminating vice and improving social behaviour, and accuses him of not attempting to disclose the real reasons which give rise to such vices and of thinking it possible by persuasion to get evil-doers voluntarily to give up their bad habits. "Even the stories on social themes", Komissarov declares, "where the moralizing is not without common sense, look naive and idealistic."

As examples of this Komissarov gives the stories ABRU (Dignity) and 'ESHQ BE KAR (Love of Action), both in ANDISHEH. In ABRU the mother of three daughters and one son is widowed and the family is near starvation because the son earns only a little and yet will not allow his sisters to go out to work as that would be beneath his dignity. Then "after a patient explanation", Komissarov writes, "the brother's obstinacy was broken, the girls went off to work, the danger that a whole family might perish had passed and all of them settled down to a happy and joyful life. It turns out that an ordinary exhortation is enough to make Persian men renounce their backward, feudal attitude towards women." In the case of 'ESHQ BE KAR Hejazi is accused of attacking idleness and laziness while "quite passing over the fact that in Persia a worker is frequently unable to find any work. The impression is given that people do not want to be actively occupied and the author reproaches them for that." Other stories from ANDISHEH which receive Komissarov's attention are PAND-E RUSTA (The Peasant's Admonition), which he calls an attempt to put the smug, haughty and wealthy sons of noblemen to shame, and SANG-E RIZEH (The Little Stone), where a man suffers pain and discomfort from a small stone in his boot, drawing from the author the following comment: "We must picture to ourselves clearly what we want and if it be something practicable and feasible we must exercise self-denial; if Utopian then reject it immediately and not let it worry us." (ANDISHEH, p.224.)

Most of the stories in SAGHIR are, says Komissarov, on the subject of love. He mentions MA'SHUQ-E-SHA'IR (The Poet's Lady-Love), YAR-E-NADIDEH (The Invisible Friend) and GOL-E-BIGONAH (The Innocent Flower), and gives a brief summary of the last-named. "A young girl is watering flowers, but refuses to water a red rose to punish it for not blooming. A man, however, admonishes the girl, telling her that the rose is innocent, she must be patient and continue looking after it for a little while longer and it will bloom. Having convinced the girl the man then tells her his own grief: 'I too have an innocent flower which withered for want of my attention. I will go and kiss it and water it with my tears. . .'" (p.45.)

"The same moralizing attitude is to be found in the stories which go to make up the volume AHANG (Melody)(4)", Komissarov continues. He finds these stories rather boring and monotonous attempts to persuade a poor man of the advantage of riches, the usefulness of learning and the importance in women of thrifty housekeeping.

Hejazi, says Komissarov, tries in his stories to imitate Sa'adi without, he claims, arriving at anything more than a very remote resemblance between them and the didactic stories in the GOLESTAN. All Hejazi does in fact is "to try and modernize Sa'adi's style and make him serve the ends of the present-day bourgeoisie. He replaces a realistic method of describing reality by abstract moralizing and medieval didactics."

Komissarov notes a new trend in Hejazi's work coinciding with political changes and appearing first of all at the end of the 1940s in his play MAHMUD AGARA VAKIL KONID (Make Mahmud Aga a Deputy), which was played in 1949 on the stage of the Tamashakhaneye Tehran. He remarks that it was unusual for a far from progressive theatre to have on its stage a play which was neither anti-democratic nor reactionary, particularly having regard to the fact that so very few Persian plays written between the 1920s and '40s were ever performed. This play, he says, shows up the bribery, threats and blackmail used by the propertied classes to get into the Majles, where businessmen use their positions as deputies to further their own profits and "transform the Majles into a tool of political intrigue". Komissarov is reminded by the play's subject-matter of a Sadeq Hedayat story, HAJJI AGHA, published four years previously: indeed, he adds, one of the chief characters in Hejazi's play bears that very name, so that one might get the impression that "Hejazi in his play, like Hedayat in his story, was pursuing the aim of condemning the existing political system in Persia. There is, however," he continues, "a vital difference between the two plays", for whereas Hedayat shows a dying reactionary class trying to strangle the new-born democratic movement and contrasts an honest man with the political charlatan Hajji Agha, Hejazi "only unmasks the adventurers who try to worm their way into the Majles in their own selfish, careerist interests, while no mention is made of their anti-national and anti-popular nature. Hejazi, then, does not expose social evil but tries to prove that all that need be done is to remove certain 'vicious persons' and make room for the activities of governmental groupings. In other words, Hejazi's work MAHMUD AGARA VAKIL KONID reflects only the struggle for power of political groupings, the author's sympathies lying with those ruling the state."

PARVANEH and SERESHK

PARVANEH (The Butterfly) and SERESHK (Tears) were published by Hejazi in the early 1950s, and in 1954 earned their author the Shah's first prize (50,000 rials). Komissarov comments that the prize emphasized "the role assigned to Hejazi and his works in official Persian literature". PARVANEH he describes as bearing an astonishing resemblance to Emile Zola's THÉRÈSE RAQUIN, apart from a few secondary details added to give a national flavour. In this work, he continues, "the author sings of poetry and love while condemning ignorance, dull-witted, huckstering meanness and profit-chasing. All that, however, does not change the basic trend of the work the main theme of which is eroticism entirely devouring a man's life and leading him on to nervous shock and to death."

For the rest of his article Komissarov concentrates on the short novel SERESHK, a tale of two young Americans enslaved by passionate eroticism and their sick imaginations. They marry, the wife becomes insanely jealous,

she has her husband followed and then blinds him when she thinks she has discovered him to be unfaithful. Komissarov comments as follows: "Here, quite clearly depicted, is the way of life of modern American bourgeois society, one governed by an extreme egoism which leads a man to utter mental derangement and to crime. Everything is based on eroticism. All Leda's (the heroine's) actions are subordinated to an unconscious biological attraction which turns her into an abnormal person subject to the basest motivations." Hejazi's "archaic and primitive" language, which according to Komissarov is similar to the prose style of Sa'adi's GOLESTAN and lacks the popular expressions which adorn the stories of Jamalzadeh and Hedayat, is, he declares, well suited for describing a world where people are guided "not by reason and elevated feelings but by egoism, passions and instinct".

SERESHK does not represent in Komissarov's opinion an attempt by the author to spread Freudian ideas; Hejazi's sympathy does not lie with the hero and heroine, says Komissarov, but on the contrary he spares no pains to show the ugly aspects of the American way of life, and tries carefully and subtly to fill us with disgust for the heroine's acts. Another story, NASER AND MAHIN, appearing in the same volume as SERESHK and telling of the healthy and idyllic love of two young Persians, makes clear to Komissarov the author's aims. "It is easy", he explains, "to understand that Hejazi wrote his neat story NASER AND MAHIN to contrast it with his story SERESHK. It is as if the author were advising Persian mothers and young women to beware of 'dangerous' love and were calling them to the ideal of NASER AND MAHIN." To show that Hejazi's intention in SERESHK was to edify, Komissarov quotes the last sentence in the book where the author expresses the hope that his story will serve as a lesson for his readers, help to increase family happiness and contribute to the well-being of Persian society. Komissarov comments that it is evident from this sentence that Hejazi is concerned about the moral condition and education of modern Persian youth and about the disruptive influence of the American way of life in the home and, "in his opinion, on bourgeois society as a whole". Hejazi remains, however, a bourgeois writer Komissarov declares, and wants to cure Persian society of its vices without altering social conditions but "by means of interior self-perfection alone".

Conclusion

Komissarov holds that it would not be right to identify the positive ideas in SERESHK with Hejazi's ideology, for, he says, SERESHK, like MAHMUD AGARA VAKIL KONID, marks a deviation, perhaps a temporary one, from his fundamental opinions which show him to be no progressive writer. SERESHK, he says, is not the only case in Persian bourgeois literature of a work which exposes the unattractive sides of American life; there is also Professor Said Nafisi's book NIMERAH-YE BEHESHT (Halfway to Paradise), re-

published in Tehran in 1953, which criticized the westernized Persian aristocracy.

"The realism of SERESHK lies also in the way it reflects the anti-American sentiments of a part of the Persian bourgeoisie (sentiments which are even more widespread among the Persian people) to whom the fate of the country's young generation is not a matter of indifference. This example shows that even when a bourgeois writer wants to pass over life's burning questions in silence it is not easy for him to do so.

"The other reason why Hejazi was induced to write his story must be looked for in the features peculiar to the literary movement in contemporary Persia. The last fifteen years have seen, as is well known, the considerable advance made by progressive Persian literature which has won the people's sympathy by criticizing the vices of Persian society and dealing boldly with vital problems. Under these conditions even bourgeois writers have been obliged to give thought to some aspects of present-day life in Persia. This is what gave rise to such stories as SERESHK and to the mood of anxiety for the national literature (although in Hejazi's works this has to be of the LEYLA AND MAJNUN type), and the fate of society in the case of a number of writers.

"Thus the realist trend is winning itself a place in contemporary Persian literature."

Notes

(1) Nasrollah Shifteh: BIOGRAPHIES OF 100 PEOPLE, 2 vols., Tehran, 1331; Mohammad Sadr Hashemi: HISTORY OF THE NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES OF PERSIA, Vol.I, Esfahan, 1327, pp.325-30.

(2) Mohammad Hejazi: AINEH, Third Impression, Tehran, 1321.

(3) Mohammad Hejazi: ANDISHEH, Tehran, First Impression 1319, Second Impression 1322; SAGHER, Second Impression, Tehran, 1322.

(4) Mohammad Hejazi: AHANG, Second Impression, Tehran, 1333.

"Lenin Park", Cawnpore

A park named after Lenin was opened in Cawnpore in July.

BR. and C.A. newspapers, 22.7.59

CURRENT SOVIET VIEWS ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH INDIA

The following is an analysis of a cross-section of recent Soviet writings on the subject of Soviet-Indian economic relations. An attempt to give some idea of the bulk and range of such material was made in the last number of the CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW in the article "Current Soviet Writing on India". (See CAR, Vol.VII, No.3.) The present article includes, however, material from Soviet newspapers, which were outside the scope of the previous article, as well as from a periodical.

The first section of the present article is based on some of the assertions and observations of G. Velikiy in his article "Vazhnyy etap v razvitii sovetsko-indiyskikh ekonomicheskikh otnosheniy" (An Important Stage in the Development of Soviet-Indian Economic Relations) which appeared in VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA, 1959, No.2. The section on oil is from B. Ivanov's article "Na pomoshch' prikhodit drug" (A Friend Lends a Hand) in PRAVDA VOSTOKA of the 17th June 1959, and the last section is taken from N. Muradov's article "Azerbaydzhan - Indii" (From Azerbaydzhan to India) in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY of the 8th April 1959.

. . .

The situation at present

Velikiy begins his article by tracing the history of Soviet-Indian economic development up to the agreement of the 16th November 1958 through the stages marked by the trade agreement of the 2nd December 1953, the VIP visits between the two countries, the agreement to build the Bhilai steel plant, the November 1957 agreement to construct various industrial undertakings, the allocation of credits, the training of Indian factory personnel in the Soviet Union, and the discovery in the autumn of 1958 of oil at Cambay and Jawalamukhi. He continues as follows:

"In the four years covered by the first trade agreement the turnover of merchandize between the USSR and India increased from 7m. rubles in 1953 to 506m. rubles in 1957. In 1958 the volume of Soviet-Indian trade surpassed the level reached in the previous year. From January 1954 to October 1958 the Soviet Union exported various machines and equipment to India (including equipment for the Bhilai steel plant), to the value of

565m. rubles. Included in this amount were over 700,000 tons of rolled ferrous metals, about 13,000 tons of non-ferrous metals, 35,000 tons of newsprint and other goods.

"In the same period the Soviet Union bought in India about 25m. pieces of rawhide for small-scale working (melkoye kozhevennoye syr'ye), 8,000 tons of wool, more than 5,000 tons of shellac, 113m. rubles' worth of tea, 50m. rubles' worth of jute products and a number of other goods necessary to the national economy of the USSR.

"As a result of the increase of trade between the two countries the USSR has become one of the biggest suppliers to India of a number of goods, satisfying 17 per cent of her import requirements of rolled ferrous metals, 12 per cent of zinc, over 10 per cent of newsprint, etc. At the same time the USSR has become a major buyer of a number of Indian goods. The proportion of Soviet purchases of Indian exports amounts to over 25 per cent, for example, in the case of rawhide for small-scale working, 50 per cent of black pepper, about 20 per cent of uncombed wool (syraya sherst'), about 25 per cent of castor oil, 10 per cent of cashew nuts, etc.

"In her desire to promote the development of Indian industry the USSR is buying increasing quantities of jute manufactures and sacks, leather footwear and woollen cloth as well as coconut fibre products and hand-made goods.

"The good results of friendly economic cooperation are primarily attributable to the way the Soviet Union in its relations with India and other states adheres strictly to the principle of equality and mutual benefit."

The rest of Velikiy's article consists of further statements to the effect that Soviet-Indian trade is in every respect mutually advantageous followed by a passage stressing the value of the most-favoured-nation treatment, and the establishment of a clearing system for payments which are features of the November 1958 agreement. Indian sources are quoted in support of that agreement.

Oil

Ivanov's article begins by stating that for decades specialists from Britain and the USA argued that India was without industrial (sic) oil-fields, and that the American Standard Vacuum Oil Company was guilty of "open, barefaced sabotage" in failing to set up oil-derricks during the period of its four-year contract in West Bengal. "But", the writer continues, "the shady plans of the colonizers miscarried. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries lent India a fraternal helping hand."

Ivanov then gives a chronicle of events since the Indian Minister of Mines and Oil, Mr. K.D. Malaviya, visited the Soviet Union in 1955. He mentions the arrival in India of "176 highly-qualified Soviet oil specialists" in 1956 and the work they did there, the technical training given to Indians in the Soviet Union so that "now India has her own qualified oilmen", and the discovery resulting from Soviet aid of oil and gas deposits at Cambay and Jawalamukhi. The news of the Cambay find, Ivanov declares, "swept the whole country. Thus was buried the myth invented by the imperialists that India was without industrial oilfields."

The rest of Ivanov's article reads as follows:

"Speaking of the services rendered by Soviet specialists in discovering oil, K.D. Malaviya declared that the success obtained was to a large extent due to team-work with the experts from the USSR. The newspaper BOMBAY CHRONICLE wrote on the 4th December 1958 that India's dreams of having her own oil could not have been realized without the help from Soviet specialists.

"Prospecting and the boring of test wells continue. In 1959, according to the newspaper TIMES OF INDIA, it is planned to bore between six and ten wells in the Cambay region. Wells have also been laid in other parts of the country, including Khoshnapur and Jawalamukhi.

"In addition the Soviet Government has agreed to help in the construction of an oil refinery with an annual output of two million tons. The Rumanian Government has signed an agreement with the Indian Government to construct an oil processing plant with an annual output of 750,000 tons. As the journal NEW AGE remarked, "this will effect an annual saving of 100m. rupees on account of the reduction in oil imports as well as the suspension of profit payments to foreign firms to the extent of 40 or 50 per cent".

Azerbaydzhan and India

N. Muradov's article is translated in full.

"N. Radzhabov, construction engineer of the Lieutenant Shmidt factory, has returned from India where he went with a group of Soviet oilmen for the installation of four drilling rigs (burovyye ustanovki) for structural-prospecting drilling (strukturno-poiskovoye bureniye).

"These drilling rigs were sent to India by the mechanics of the Azerbaydzhan Council of National Economy (Sovnarkhoz) along with a gusher fitting (fontannaya armatura), master preventers (plashechnyye preventery), drilling derricks (burovyye vyshki), clay mixers, a derrick installation hoist (pod"yemnik dlya montazha vyshek), 'AzINmash-11' depth winch

apparatus (agregaty glubinnoy lebedki 'AzINmash-11') and a large quantity of other equipment.

"For several months Radzhabov and assembly mechanic (slesar' po sborke) Osipovich have been in charge of work on the installation of drilling rigs, and now Soviet oilmen are carrying out drilling in the area.

"The economic links between Azerbaydzhan and the friendly Indian republic develop and grow stronger year by year. Our factories have carried out very many orders for India, supplying very complicated equipment and instruments adapted to tropical conditions.

"The large consignment of tubing manufactured by the metallurgists of the Azerbaydzhan tube-rolling mill has won high praise from our Indian friends. Mr. Rahman, the chief specialist of the Ministry of Fuel and Oil visited the tube-rolling section of the factory and expressed gratitude to the personnel (kollektiv) for the high quality of the tubes produced.

"The Baku factories for electrical apparatus, bearings and instrument manufacture have also carried out orders for India.

"The machine construction enterprises of the Azerbaydzhan Council of National Economy recently received an order to deliver to the Indian Republic in the second and third quarters of 1959 a large amount of oil equipment, underground machinery, apparatus and instruments (pribory i instrumenty).

"Portable laboratories for examining the quality of drilling fluid (glinistyye rastvory) and Petrosyan apparatus (apparaty Patrosyana) for measuring the curvature in wells being drilled will be manufactured by the collective (kollektiv) of the Baku instrument manufacturing factory.

"The machine constructors of the B. Sardarov factory will send powerful hydraulic jacks (gidravlicheskiye domkraty) of 300 tons load-lifting capacity and a clay mixer. The Lenin, Kirov and Kasimov factories will also join in carrying out this order.

"'AzINmash-22' tube-carriers (trubovozki), a tractor hoist (traktornyy pod"yemnik), several thousand locks (zamki) for drilling tubes Yakovlev apparatus (apparaty Yakovleva) and many other things will be dispatched this year to India.

"Stronger and stronger grows the friendship between the toilers of Azerbaydzhan and India."

The above are typical examples of Soviet writings on economic relations with less developed countries. They show the sort of briefing given to Soviet technicians being sent to Asia and Africa and invariably stress the contribution made by Soviet machinery exports to the industrial progress of the less developed countries. In fact, however, the Soviet contribution is small: it is estimated that only 2.4 per cent of India's total imports were from the Soviet Union in 1958. Soviet statistics would probably claim a higher share - perhaps twice as much.

Soviet book exhibition at Gazibad

An exhibition of Soviet books opened at Gazibad, near Delhi.
P. 25.8.59

Indian books for Turkmens

A number of Indian books are being translated into their mother tongue for the workers of Turkmenistan. TI. 23.8.59

Sanskrit encyclopaedia translated into Russian

The first Russian translation of the ARTHASHASTRA (The Science of Politics), described as a Sanskrit encyclopaedia of the life of ancient India, has been published by the Leningrad department of the AN/SSSR Press.
IZVESTIYA, 30.8.59

Delegation of Indo-Soviet cultural society visits Tashkent

A delegation of the Indo-Soviet cultural society, led by Harcharan Sing a professor of Delhi University, arrived in Tashkent on 9th September.
PV. 10.9.59

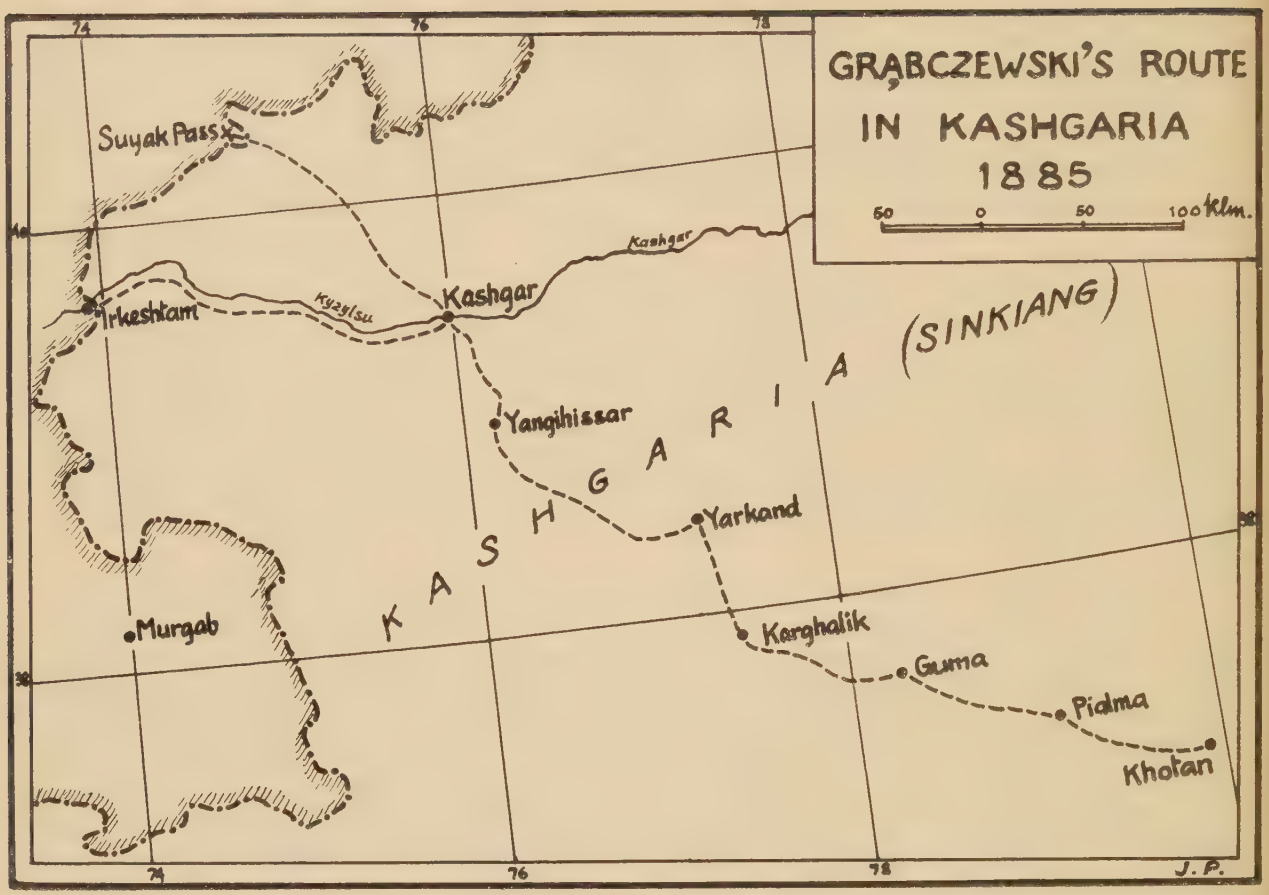
Indian railway workers visit Uzbekistan

A delegation of Indian railway workers spent two days in Uzbekistan at the end of a visit to the Soviet Union. They left Tashkent for India on 30th June. PV. 1.7.59

A POLISH TRAVELLER IN SINKIANG

In the 1920s three books appeared in Warsaw, in which Bronislaw Grąbczewski described his travels between 1885-90 in Kashgaria, Tibet, Kandzhut, the Hindu Kush and the present Kirgizia and Tadzhikistan. These books subsequently became very rare owing to the wholesale destruction of libraries during the war and, as they are of considerable geographical and ethnographical interest, in 1958 they were published by the State Scientific Publishing House, Warsaw in a single volume entitled PODRÓŻE PO AZJI ŚRODKOWEJ (Travels in Central Asia).

Grąbczewski (1855-1926) was the son of a well-to-do landowner in Lithuania, whose participation in the Polish insurrection of 1863 against Russia caused his estate to be confiscated and its owner to be sent to Siberia. His family was forced to leave Lithuania and settled in Warsaw where his son received middle school education. Subsequently he entered the Mines Institute in St.Pétersburg, but he soon abandoned his studies in order to join the Tsarist army. Nevertheless the knowledge of mineralogy, geology and topography which he had acquired at the Institute proved valuable during his travels. After some years spent in Warsaw he was transferred to the Russian army in Central Asia, just after Russia had conquered the khanates of Khiva and Bukhara and was consolidating her position in Turkestan. During this time Grąbczewski became well acquainted with the native population and learned to speak Tadzhik and the local Turkic languages like a native. When the war was over, he began to work in the military administration of the conquered country and his duties included control of the demarcation of the Russo-Chinese frontier in the Fergana region. This led to his first journey in 1885. In 1888 his second journey took him to the emirate of Kandzhut on the southern slopes of the Karakoram; the scientific value of his researches there was acknowledged by the St.Petersburg Geographical Society which conferred a gold medal upon him. In 1889 he set out for Kafiristan, a country still little known to Europeans, but a civil war in Afghanistan diverted him to Tibet and Kashgaria. On this journey, at Sary-Kamysh in the Raskem valley, he met a large English expedition led by Captain Younghusband, "an intelligent and courteous man who made a very good impression on me. We spent two days talking but this did not make us forget our scientific work . . ."(1) Younghusband, later the President of the Royal Geographical Society, mentioned the meeting in 1926 in THE GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL and spoke with appreciation of Grąbczewski's researches.



The first book of the series, KASHGARIA, in which Grąbczewski describes his journey of 1885, is of special interest to students of the borderlands of Soviet Central Asia. Let the author explain its origin:

"I was then attached for special duties to General Ivanov, the Governor of Fergana. The Russo-Chinese treaty of 1883 provided that the posts demarcating the frontier between these powers should every three years be checked and adjusted by representatives of the two Governments. This task on the Russian side was entrusted to me. From Margelan, where I then lived, I was to go to Kashgar where the main Chinese authorities resided, and having there received instructions from the Russian Consul, set out with the Chinese delegate for the frontier, which passed along the peaks of the Tien Shan. This part of the frontier was marked by fourteen posts standing at the fourteen passes of the Tien Shan through which one could pass from China into Russia.

"In order to give some idea of contemporary official conditions in Russia, I should add that for the expenses of my journey to a neighbouring country where I was to represent Russia and together with the representative of China ride on horseback seven hundred kilometres along the Tien Shan, the highest mountain range in that part of the Asian highland, I received an advance of 200 rubles, account of which I was to render after my return. Being then a lieutenant, I was allowed 30 kopeks a day for my own expenses, as well as the progon for the maintenance of one and a half (sic) horses at the rate of one and a half kopeks per horse per kilometre. How one could possibly make the journey with one and a half horses in those formidable mountains and in a country inhabited by nomads where everything, that is bedding, tents, tinned food and so on had to be taken with one - it was a secret known only to the Russian supply corps. But orders are orders and I undertook to carry them out. An irresistible curiosity to see lands at that time completely unknown drew me abroad.

"I received my orders on 7th August and on the 10th I was already on my way from Margelan to Osh, with a retinue of five Orenburg Cossacks and two native dzhigits who were my personal servants. Two horses carried the baggage."(2)

Beyond the Russian fort of Irkeshtam Grąbczewski entered Chinese territory and thence followed the course of the Kyzylsu to Kashgar. There the dao-tay, the Chinese governor of the country, and the zung-tun, commander of Chinese troops in the province, received him ceremoniously with a full display of Chinese etiquette. On 28th August Grąbczewski left Kashgar in the direction of the Fergana border where Wan-da-loye, the Chinese frontier inspector, was to wait for him on 2nd September near the Suyak pass. After a five days' journey they met, and spent the following twelve days travelling along the 672km. frontier line and checking on the way, the state and position of the tall stone pillars standing at the twelve passes of the Tien Shan through which Russian Central Asia was accessible from China. The uneventful tour was about to be completed at Irkeshtam, with nothing significant to report when trouble started unexpectedly. The official map of the frontier, approved by both Governments, mistakenly called the little river of Irkeshtam Maltabar and, though there was no other river in the district which could be taken for the real Maltabar, Wan-da-loye argued that the Russian fort was in fact built on Chinese territory and should therefore be abandoned. The matter was serious in view of the importance of a fort situated right on the border at the point where the Irkeshtam river joined the Kyzylsu. It guarded two valleys through which two main routes pass from China into Fergana. Although it was small and of no strategic importance, it was valuable as an observation point for "an officer who lived there and maintained good relations with the Kirgiz nomads inhabiting the mountains on the Chinese side could always keep well informed on what was going on in Kashgaria".(3)

Disputes and search for the real Maltabar dragged on for five days until Grąbczewski declared that, since the Chinese would not accept the existing situation, the matter should be referred to the dao-tay of Kashgar. So on 19th September he departed for Kashgar, leaving his Chinese colleague at Irkeshtam, where he hoped with the help of the local Kirgiz to find the Maltabar on the Russian side of the border and thus to prove that the fort should be destroyed. At Kashgar the situation was further complicated owing to the consul Petrovskiy's absence on leave and the dao-tay stubbornly supporting Wan-da-loye's point of view. Finally the dao-tay suggested that the matter should be submitted to Lu, the chief supervisor of the "New Frontier", residing at Urumchi. As he reckoned that it would take a month to receive Lu's answer, he invited Grąbczewski to stay meanwhile at Kashgar as his "dear guest". Grąbczewski does not say how the dispute was finally settled except that Lu decided that the matter exceeded his powers and passed it on to Pekin.

Grąbczewski readily accepted the invitation "hoping that thus I shall have time to see more of Kashgaria which was unknown to me and to learn about its trade and industry and also that I could find a way to penetrate to its southern region as far as Khotan. The country strongly attracted me because at one time the most famous Russian traveller, Colonel Przhevalskiy, had come to Khotan from Tibet. After resting there, he had gone northwards across the Gobi desert and returned to Russia through Zaysan post in western Siberia. If I could reach Khotan, my research could complete Przhevalskiy's topographical survey of Turkestan and thus a huge area of unknown Central Asia would be surveyed and described."(4)

The opportunity soon presented itself. With the zung-tan's permission Grąbczewski was watching the training of the local troops when he was suddenly attacked and wounded by two soldiers, who apparently took him for a spy. In fact he says that he merely wanted to gather information on the state of the Chinese army, which was new to the Russian Government. The incident enabled him to obtain as a sort of compensation the dao-tay's permission to go to Khotan.

The rest of the book is devoted to a description of Kashgaria which testifies to Grąbczewski's wide interests and talent for observation. It gives account of things so diverse as wild life, inns, the Chinese judicial system and official corruption, goitre, and other local diseases, the cultivation of rice, taxes and Anglo-Russian rivalry in that part of Asia, to mention but a few. From Kashgar he travelled via Yangihissar, Yarkand, Karghalik, Guma and Pialma and on 24th October he arrived at Khotan, only to start the return journey four days later. On his arrival at Kashgar he learned that the frontier dispute had been passed on by Lu to higher authorities; so he considered his mission completed and left Kashgar on 16th November; nine days later he was back at Osh.

"At Margelan I applied myself to arranging and systematizing the results of my expedition. I wrote AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO KASHGAR AND SOUTH KASHGARIA IN 1885. It was printed in a hundred copies by order of our local authorities and sent to military headquarters and learned societies. It contained a detailed account of the journey and all the information I had obtained on Chinese troops, the administration of Kashgaria, its trade, industry and mineral resources. To this I added a map of Kashgaria on which I located the roads in the 900km. between the Russian fort of Irkeshtam and Khotan; the basis of this was my topographical survey of the region. There were also plans of all the fortresses I had seen. Moreover, in eight appendixes I described in detail the roads along which I had travelled, all the passes of the Tien Shan as well as the trade routes to India, Kashmir and Lesser Tibet, details of which I had found out from merchants. The Russian Geographical Society conferred on me a silver medal for this work. . ."(5) The Tsar also proved generous and in 1886 he rewarded Grąbczewski with a sum of 1,000 rubles "for a useful work concerning Kashgaria".

It is difficult to say whether it was simply curiosity which made Grąbczewski amass all this information on Kashgaria. Now and again he drops a hint that his Kashgar expedition had a purpose wider than the declared one. Thus, for example, he says that he did not wish to go to Khotan in the company of one of the zung-tun's generals "because in his presence I could not engage in topographical research, see the country without interference, talk with the natives, collect secret information on the activities of British agents, trade, industry, and taxes which the Chinese Government extorted from the people - in short, I would miss everything which constituted the real value of the journey".(6) But though later Grąbczewski was raised to the rank of a general and became governor of Astrakhan', his political liberalism resulted in his disgrace when in 1905 he protested against Stolypin's repressions. He was released from government service and "strongly advised" to go abroad without delay "to repair his health". This was the end of his career in Russia.

Notes

(1) TRAVELS, p.489.
(2) Ibid., pp.19-20.
(3) Ibid., p. 47.
(4) Ibid., pp.102-3.
(5) Ibid., p.213.
(6) Ibid., p.112.

THE INTERNAL POLICIES OF YAQUB BEK OF KASHGAR

The following is an abridged translation of D. Tikhonov's article: "Questions of the internal policy of Yaqub Bek" which appeared in UCHENYYE ZAPISKI INSTITUTA VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, XVI, 1958, pp.109-37. It seems to be the only account of Yaqub Bek to have been written in the Soviet Union since 1953*, and is an attempt to deal with his rule from a narrowly Marxist socio-economic point of view. The article suffers from a lack of material necessary for such an approach - which the author admits - and the conclusions are often drawn from the slenderest evidence. This long article (7000 words) is diffuse, repetitive, and sometimes contradictory.

The chief sources used are: TAARIKH-I EMINE (A History of the Rulers of Kashgaria) by Mulla Musa ben Mulla Aysa (Kazan', 1905); KASHGARIYA by A.N. Kuropatkin (St.Petersburg, 1879); OCHERKI VERKHNEY TATARII, YARKENDA I KASHGARA by Robert Shaw (a Russian translation published in St.Petersburg in 1872); and REPORT OF A MISSION TO JARKUND IN 1873 UNDER THE COMMAND OF SIR T.D. FORSYTH (Calcutta, 1875). In addition the author has used archive material, mostly military reports, from the Uzbek State Archives.

Tikhonov attempts to show every aspect of Yaqub Bek's rule in the darkest light. He emphasizes the oppressions and corruption but makes no attempt to compare conditions under Yaqub Bek with the infinitely worse ones of the preceding period. No mention is made of the fact that Yaqub Bek was bitterly anti-Russian, that he had commanded the defence of Tashkent against the Russians in 1864 before fleeing to Kashgar. And no mention is made of Yaqub Bek's immense prestige as an Islamic ruler of remarkable powers.

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* In 1953 an article by V. Shakhmatov and F. Kireyev entitled "O reaktsionnoy sushchnosti gosudarstva Yakubbeka - agenta anglüskikh kolonizatorov" (The Reactionary Character of the Administration of Yaqub Bek, Agent of the British Colonizers), appeared in VESTNIK AN/KAZ. SSR, No.4(97), Alma-Ata, 1953.

In the nineteenth century the Chinese Empire, still ruled by the Manchu dynasty, was swept by a series of popular risings. The defeat of China in the Opium Wars and the success of the Taiping rising further weakened the Empire. The Dungan population of the western provinces of Shensi and Kansu rose in revolt and the rising spread to Dzhungaria and Kashgaria (the modern Sinkiang). The population of these outlying provinces suffered an acute economic crisis: the subsidies from the central government ceased and supplementary taxes were imposed for the upkeep of the administration and garrisons. Local officials resorted to extortions and corruption. The peasantry were ruined.

In 1864 the oasis-dwellers of Dzhungaria and Kashgaria rose in revolt. The Chinese army, fully occupied with the Taiping rising and with the Dungans of Shensi and Kansu, were powerless. Although the rebels were mostly peasants and artisans, the Muslim clergy and local feudalists quickly took control of the uprising. In Kuchar, Rashid-uddin Khoja (Khan Khoja) seized power, in Khotan, Habibulla (Hajji padishah). Kashgar was ruled first by the Kirgiz Sadyk Bek and then by Buzruk Khan. Other small principalities arose in other districts.

In 1865 Yaqub Bek came from Kokand to Kashgar and, caught by chance on the crest of the wave of the popular rising, set about winning himself a kingdom. He appointed his own followers to be local officials in place of those who had abused their positions and thus won himself popular support. His first task was to attack Yarkand, and after this success, with an increasing number of troops, took Khotan. In the summer of 1867 he took Kuchar with an army of 15,000 and thus controlled the whole of Kashgaria. He next turned his attention to Dzhungaria. He started a quarrel with the Dungan sultanate over a frontier dispute. The Dungans invaded Kashgaria in the spring of 1870 and even captured Kuchar, but Yaqub Bek counter-attacked and took Urumchi in the autumn of 1870. He made no changes in the administration of the Dungan sultanate and even left Davud Khalfa as ruler. Thus he won the Dungans as allies. There now remained only the Taranchi sultanate in the Ili valley to complete his kingdom. But in 1871 the area was occupied by Russian troops who checked Yaqub Bek's advance.

Yaqub Bek entered into diplomatic relations with the Sultan of Turkey and with Britain, and tried to encourage trade with British India. But his policy was not directed at creating an economically strong and integrated kingdom. Dzhungaria and Kashgaria were economically independent of each other and even in Kashgaria the oases had little contact with one another.

The administrative system

The whole country was divided into districts (*okrugi*) of which there were nine or ten in Kashgaria. The districts were sub-divided into *aksakal*

(headman) divisions which in turn were divided into villages (kishlak). The district was administered by a hakim (governor) and the aksakal division by a sarkar. None of these officials received a salary from the central treasury. The hakim was "leased" his area and in return furnished the central government with grain and money. He could appoint his own administration and kept his own troops. Yaqub Bek appointed and dismissed the hakims at will.

Lesser officials, including the sarkars and judges, were also appointed by Yaqub Bek, and were responsible for raising taxes and administering justice. None of these numerous officials received a salary, but they lived from voluntary gifts and rewards, and many amassed considerable fortunes. It was customary for lesser officials to make gifts to their superiors, and for the hakims to make gifts to Yaqub Bek. The hakim of Khotan, for instance, equipped a caravan with gold dust, silver, costly furs, and rich materials.

Corruption was of course inevitable under such a system and an official was only dismissed if his extortions became too excessive. The judges were notoriously corrupt and susceptible to bribery. The great majority of Yaqub Bek's officials were fiscal or military whose chief task was to extort taxes and supplementary levies from the people. This necessitated troops and innumerable tax gatherers, judges, and clergy.

One of the difficulties of studying Yaqub Bek's internal policy is the absence of legal documents of the period. The chief sources must thus be travellers' accounts, reports of officials and merchants, and local sources. But these works do not give a complete picture. Thus there is no official documentation on the peasant land tenure. Much useful information is to be found in the works of A.N. Kuropatkin and T.D. Forsyth who both visited Yaqub Bek's kingdom; but many of the conclusions drawn by these authors are mistaken especially as they tend to ascribe Yaqub Bek's policies to his personal character.

As supreme ruler, Yaqub Bek controlled his country's legislation, armed forces, trade, foreign relations, finance and civil administration. He owned all land and could lease it or grant it at will. Land was also sold by the ruler to the moneyed classes who would lease it to the peasantry Yaqub Bek made grants of land to religious foundations but forbade the peasantry to bequeath their land as waqf bequests. This was not to help the peasantry but rather to weaken the power of the clergy who could thus only receive land from Yaqub Bek himself.

But he took great pains to win the clergy to his side. He did this by strictly enforcing Islamic law. All women were to be veiled in public. Alcohol and gambling were forbidden. The clergy were exempt from various taxes. Many new mosques were built. Religious foundations were granted

large estates of land. By these measures Yaqub Bek succeeded in winning the support of all ranks of the clergy.

This policy of winning personal allegiance Yaqub Bek applied in all fields of administration. At first he appointed only his own followers from Kokand to the higher administrative posts but soon he began to win the support of local feudalists and to appoint them to important positions. His state was a feudal and military one in which little attention was paid to the impoverished lower classes who more than once rose in revolt. He never secured his position by winning general popular support and could never relax his military vigilance.

Types of dependence

One British writer, Robert Shaw, states that Yaqub Bek abolished the slave trade, but other sources contradict this, and it seems likely that prisoners taken in battle were used as slaves. But there were other more widespread forms of dependence: lands which had formerly belonged to the Manchu state were frequently granted by Yaqub Bek together with their inhabitants to his officials or generals. Although the peasants were not legally bound personally to the landlord, yet as a source of revenue they were tied to the land. And as taxes were usually excessive, many of the peasantry were indebited to their landlords. Moreover, army officers were often paid by the revenue from houses or villages and thus the inhabitants of these villages or houses were tied to the one man to whom they had to pay tax. Robert Shaw asserts that under Yaqub Bek there was no system of payment by labour, but this is not true. There was forced labour on quite a large scale for government works.

The tax system

Many classes were exempt from taxation and thus the whole burden of taxation fell on the peasants and artisans. Corruption was so widespread that it became almost legal. The state's chief revenue was from direct taxes, though there were also various supplementary levies, some temporary and some permanent, and certain revenue came from tariffs.

The settled population paid ushr (or kharaj) which amounted officially to one-tenth of the grain harvest. The tanap levy was imposed on gardens, cotton fields, tobacco plantations, and other non-grain cultivations. Cattle-breeders paid ziakat as did the merchants. Unlike the other taxes mentioned, the ziakat was usually paid in money rather than in kind. All these taxes were frequently imposed at a rate higher than that laid down by law.

There are no overall figures for Yaqub Bek's revenue, but such figures as are known for certain districts show that there were striking differences in the amounts paid by different districts. For instance, the Yangihissar district paid four times more kharaj than the Kalpi or Aksu districts.

Of the supplementary levies, the most burdensome were those for the upkeep of embassies travelling through the land and the konalgu for the upkeep of the army. The local population of the area through which the troops were passing were charged with the supply of fodder, fuel and food supplies, and as Yaqub Bek was almost continually at war, this duty was extremely burdensome to the population.

Corruption was rife in all forms of tax-gathering and it frequently happened that the produce collected from the population would be sold back to them. More burdensome even for the peasant was the forced labour system. The richer classes could buy themselves out of this duty which thus fell on the shoulders of the poorest classes. Forced labour was conscripted for repairing roads, bridges and city walls, and for building canals.

It was customary for merchants, hakims, and other notables to make gifts to Yaqub Bek and frequently these gifts were of great value. Moreover anyone wishing to appear at court brought with him a gift for the ruler. In general, it can confidently be stated that Shaw's assertions that there was a single universal tax amounting to one-tenth of the harvest and that there was no corruption among officials are mistaken.

Industry

In spite of Kashgaria's rich natural resources, industry was only rudimentary. Both mining and processing were local, handwork occupations. Most peasants and their families did some handwork at home in order to supplement their incomes. Thus artisan production in the towns developed slowly.

Mining and metal-working were barely developed and metal was imported from Russia. At Yangihissar some iron ore was mined and worked. Labour conditions in the coal mines were appalling and the miners were for the most part homeless and destitute people who could find no other work. Copper was mined in several places and there was a copper-smelting works near Kashgar and a mint at Aksu. Certain other minerals were also mined in small quantities. Gold was mined in the Khotan oasis and was an important source of revenue for Yaqub Bek.

Cotton spinning and weaving was widespread, and the looms were of the most primitive design. Most weavers worked with their own yarn and on their own machine but there were some employers with two or three weavers working

for them. Carpets were produced in Yarkand and Khotan, and Khotan was also famed for its silk. Yaqub Bek took no measures to develop industry. He opened some military workshops, but these of course could not improve the country's economic condition.

Conclusions

All evidence shows that Yaqub Bek was a feudal ruler, that in his kingdom peasants and artisans were tied and that slavery continued. He took no progressive actions in the field of agriculture or industry. The military-feudal regime and high taxes intensified the class struggle. Popular discontent showed itself in emigration and rebellions. When the Manchu armies advanced into Sinkiang once more, the working population made no effort to defend Yaqub Bek's oppressive regime.

Editorial Note

It is of some interest that the article on Yaqub Bek in the First Edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Vol.65(1931), describes him approvingly as "the leader of a Muslim national liberation movement. . . against the colonial policy of the Russian autocracy in Central Asia". The Second Edition has no separate article on Yaqub Bek, but in the historical section of the article on the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region (1956), he is represented as a tool of the British, "whose anti-popular policy deprived him of the support of the people". The first indication of this abrupt change in historiographical policy was observed in 1953 in the VESTNIK of the Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences. (See Note on p.403.) The change in the facts of history was of course necessitated by the Chinese Communist Revolution of 1949.

Soviet gift for Indian flood victims

The Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent received a message from Mr. Nehru thanking them for a gift of 80,000 rupees for the flood victims in Jammu and Kashmir. KZ. 2.8.59

N E W S D I A R Y

AFGHANISTAN, INDIA, PAKISTAN, PERSIA, SINKIANG

The following diary includes items from newspapers and periodicals received during the period April - September 1959 in the case of Persia, and July - September 1959 inclusive in all other cases. In view of the variety of sources from which the information has been collected, contradictions may occur; no responsibility can be taken for the accuracy of the information given but the source is given for each item.

A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the REVIEW.

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AFGHANISTAN

A protocol signed between Poland and Afghanistan in the fourth quarter of 1958 envisages transactions to a total value of $4m. Details of the increased import-export list are given. Details are also given of an agreement to the opening in Kabul of a permanent Polish exhibition and the employment of Polish experts in Afghanistan. FET. July 1959

August 2nd. An Afghan Government delegation left Moscow for Afghanistan after signing agreements which envisage a further increase in economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. P. 3.8.59

21st. Work was completed on the first stage of Bagram airfield, built with the cooperation of Soviet and Afghan specialists. The first aircraft to land, a TU-104, brought Soviet specialists and visitors of various nationalities. BR., KP., PV. 23.8.59; P. 25.8.59

A protocol to the Afghan-Soviet agreement on technical aid has been signed, enabling Russia to help in the construction of an Afghan canal. T. 25.8.59

September 6th. The Soviet writers Berdy Kerbabayev and Satym Ulug-Zade left Kabul for the Soviet Union after attending the celebrations for the 41st anniversary of Afghan independence at the invitation of the Afghan Press Department. KT. 9.9.59

Rumanian oil experts have discovered rich oil deposits in northern Afghanistan. (See also CAR, Vol.VII, No.2, p.205.) T. 2.9.59

A document dated 1926 proclaiming Turkmen-Afghan friendship and mislaid for 33 years has just been found. TI. 4.9.59

INDIA

India's transactions with Poland amounted in 1958 to 35m. rubles. The two countries have signed a contract under which Poland is to build two steel construction plants and to deliver equipment for a factory of electric motors. Details are given of the trade agreement signed between the two countries in the fourth quarter of 1958. (See CAR, Vol.VII, No.1, p.102 and No.3, p.306.) FET. July 1959

M a y 14th. A long-term trade-and-payments agreement was signed between India and Rumania in Bucharest. Details given. FET. July, September 1959

30th. A protocol to the India-Czechoslovakia trade agreement of March 7th (see CAR, Vol.VII, No.3, p.304) was signed in Prague. Details given. FET. July, September 1959

June 15th. The 1954 trade agreement between India and Hungary was extended in Budapest. Two-way trade is to be more than doubled. Mr. A. Nagaraja Rao, of India's Ministry of Commerce and Industry, recently visited Budapest and expressed great interest in Hungary's aluminium industry. FET. July, August 1959

July 2nd. Soviet representatives of TEKHNOEKSPORT presented the Indian Ministry of Commerce and Industry with the technical project for the optical glass factory (annual output 210 tons) to be built with Soviet assistance at Durgapur, Assam. (See CAR, Vol. VI, No.1, pp.97, 99 and No.4, p.473.) BR., KP. 4.7.59

11th-16th. Six concerts were given by Indian artists visiting Tashkent. PV. 9, 14.7.59

28th. Humayun Kabir, Indian Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, left the Soviet Union for India after visiting Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara. He arrived on July 8th at the invitation of the Soviet Ministry of Culture and the State Committee for Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries. P. 9.7.59; PV. 24, 26, 29.7.59

30th. The Indian Government has accepted an offer of aid totalling 1,500m. rubles by the Soviet Union. The offer was made during the visit of an Indian economic mission to Moscow last May. (See CAR, Vol.VII, No.3, p.305.) P. and T. 31.7.59

A branch of the Indo-Soviet Society for the Strengthening of Cultural Ties has been opened in Calcutta. PV. 4.7.59

At Noonmati, Assam, work has begun on the first of the two oil refineries to be established in the public sector with Rumanian aid. (See CAR, Vol.VII, No.1, p.101.) FET. August 1959

Czechoslovakia is to supply the equipment for an engineering metallurgy plant at Ranchi, in Bihar State. The Skoda firm's contract, worth £21m., is for a forge and foundry. (See CAR, Vol.VI, No.3, p.362 and No.4, p.472.) According to the Indian Minister of Industry the plant will be completed by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan.
The two new Czech cement plants for Uttar Pradesh will have a daily capacity of 350 tons each, while the one to be supplied to Rajapalajam, near Madras, will have a capacity of 200 tons a day. (See CAR, Vol.VI, No.4, p.473.) FET. August, September 1959

August 13th. An agreement was signed in Delhi for the opening of a Czech airline between Prague and Bombay. (See CAR, Vol.VII, No. 3, p.306.) KZ. 15.8.59; SK. 16.8.59

20th. A delegation of the Delhi Municipal Council, headed by the Mayor, Mr. Trilok Chand Sharma, arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet.
BR., PV., TI. 22.8.59; FET. September 1959

31st. A conference of Soviet and Indian oil specialists which opened at Dehra Dun on August 23rd ended today. (See CAR, Vol. VII, No.3, p.305.) P. 24.8.59; PV., TI. 25.8.59; BR., TI. 3.9.59

Details are given of the Soviet-Indian agreement to manufacture drugs and surgical instruments which was signed on May 29th. (See CAR, Vol.VII, No.3, p.305.) FET. September 1959

Russian experts have completed a design for an open-cast coal-mining plant with an annual capacity of 2m. tons of fuel to be built at the site of the Korba coal deposits. (See CAR, Vol.VI, No.2, p.240.) FET. September 1959

Czechoslovakia has expressed willingness to assist in the manufacture of small cars costing between £375 and £525. The project envisages a plant producing about 25,000 units a year with a number of feeder industries.
Czechoslovak machinery and technical assistance is also being made available for the production of tractors for mechanized reclamation work. FET. September 1959

The trade agreement between India and Bulgaria signed in April 1956 and revised in June 1957 has been extended by the recent signing of protocols in Sofia. (See CAR, Vol.VI, No.3, p.361.) FET. September 1959

September 14th. Mr. B.K. Nehru, Indian Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs, left Moscow for India. He had since his arrival on August 20th, taken part in talks on the expansion of economic contracts between the Soviet Union and India which concluded with the signing of an agreement on September 12th following on the Indian acceptance of Soviet aid on July 30th. (See above.) BR., PV., TI. 22.8.59; P. 13, 15.9.59; T. 14.9.59; FET. September 1959

PAKISTAN

Pakistan's transactions with Poland amounted in 1958 to 21m. rubles. FET. July 1959

May 28th. A triangular agreement has been reached between Pakistan, Czechoslovakia and Indonesia, which covers Pakistan imports from Czechoslovakia of machinery and equipment for mining in West Pakistan and for peat in East Pakistan. FET. September 1959

June 12th. The Soviet Ambassador at Karachi declared that the Soviet Union is prepared to give economic and technical aid to Pakistan, in particular for irrigation and land reclamation schemes. He added that trade between the two countries, at present insignificant, could be considerably increased and that the Soviet Union would accept payment in Pakistan rupees. ORIENTE MODERNO, June 1959

29th. The Pakistan Foreign Ministry rejected as incorrect and without foundation a Soviet protest alleging that Soviet air-space had been violated during the recent military exercises by Baghdad Pact countries. ORIENTE MODERNO, July 1959

Pakistan is to export shoes to Russia in exchange for clocks and watches. This is the first time that Russia has had other than raw materials from Pakistan. ORIENTE MODERNO, July 1959

PERSIA

Details are given of the goods to be exchanged between Poland and Persia in 1959 under a protocol complementing the Polish-Persian agreement signed in 1958. Transactions to the amount of £4m. in each direction are envisaged. At the same time Poland is building two sugar factories in Persia. FET. July 1959

April 17th. The new Persian ambassador, A. Massaud Ansari, presented his letters of credence at the Kremlin. P. 18.4.59

M a y 12th. The possibility of Russian participation in the development of Persian oil resources was mentioned by the Shah at a London Press conference. T. 13.5.59

2nd, 31st. Two Soviet notes were issued in denial of the Persian charge that Soviet aircraft had been violating her air-space. (See also THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER, No.6, 1959, pp.12-13.) P. 4.6.59. (Also reported by KP. and BR.)

June 9th. An article in KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA attributed to American influence an article published in PAYK-E-IRAN, probably in March, allegedly claiming that Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara, Ashkhabad and Chardzhou are "Persian towns". KP. 9.6.59

August 26th. Mr. V. Mayevskiy, writing in PRAVDA, declared that American bases in Persia were a serious threat to Persia's security. P. 26.8.59

SINKIANG

A plan has been drafted by Kazakh scientists for the construction of a 620-mile waterway linking the Ili, Chu and Syr-Dar'ya rivers thus connecting Sinkiang with the Aral Sea.
FET. July 1959, quoting SOVIET NEWS

September 9th. A Communist Youth delegation from Sinkiang left Tashkent for Urumchi. Their visit had taken them to Fergana and Samarkand. Fluent Uzbek-speakers were included in the delegation. PV. 10.9.59

THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS OF KAZAKHSTAN, KIRGIZIA, TADZHIKISTAN, UZBEKISTAN, TURKMENISTAN AND AZERBAYDZHAN

100 0 100 200 300 km.

Borders of the U.S.S.R.
Limits of Union Republics.
Capitals of Union Republics.
Railways.
Canals.
Canals under construction or projected.
Sands.
Main arterial road with pass.

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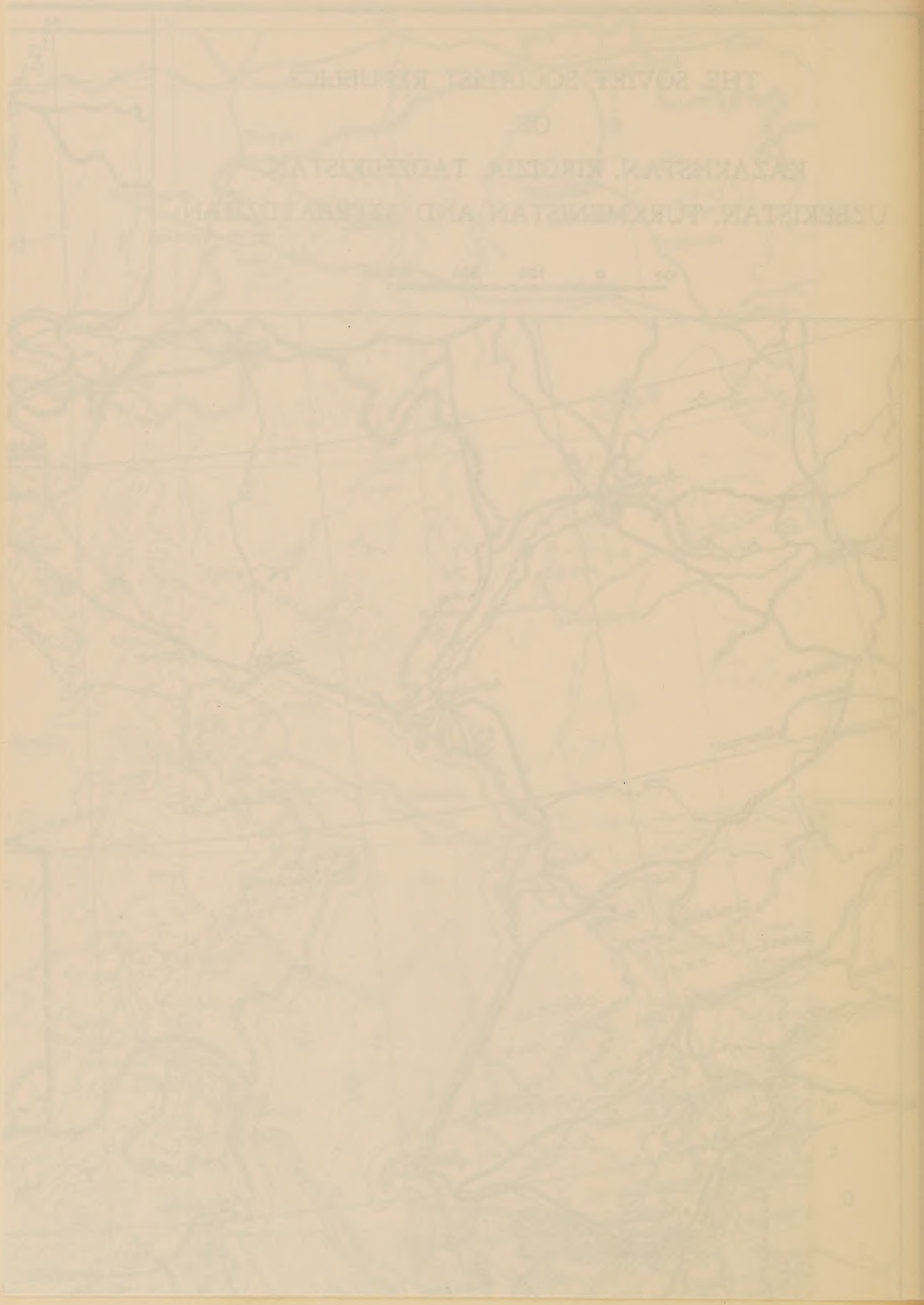


Also published by Central Asian Research Centre

THE TURKIC LANGUAGES OF CENTRAL ASIA: Problems of Planned Culture Contact. A translation of an article entitled "The Turkic Peoples of the USSR: the Development of their Languages and Writing" by Professor N.A. Baskakov, with comments by Dr. Stefan Wurm. 52pp. large post quarto. Price: Six Shillings. (Out of print)

TURKIC PEOPLES OF THE USSR: Their historical background, their languages and the development of Soviet linguistic policy, by Dr. Stefan Wurm. 51 pp. large post quarto. Price: Ten Shillings.

SOME FEATURES OF THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE OIROT (GORNO-ALTAI) LANGUAGE by C.G. Simpson, Reader in Turkish at the University of Durham. 68 pp. large post quarto. Price: Seven Shillings and Sixpence.

A concise description of the main features of the noun, pronoun, postposition and verb of the Oirot language spoken in the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Oblast of the USSR.

ISLAM AND RUSSIA: A detailed analysis of "An Outline of the History of Islamic Studies in the USSR" by N.A. Smirnov (Moscow 1954), with an introduction by Ann K.S. Lambton, Professor of Persian in the University of London. 87 pp. large post quarto. Price: Twelve Shillings and Sixpence.

N.A. Smirnov's book is the most important work on Islamic Studies published in the USSR and is of particular significance at the present time. It is divided into two approximately equal parts dealing with Islamic Studies in Russia before and after the Revolution. The present analysis is reproduced from CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW and is accompanied by a long introduction dealing with the history of Russian relations with Islam. The Bibliography consists of a list of all the works on Islamic and cognate subjects mentioned in the text.

THE TURKISH LANGUAGE OF SOVIET AZERBAIJAN by C.G. Simpson, Reader in Turkish at the University of Durham. 120 pp. large post quarto. Price: Twenty Shillings.

A summary of the grammar of the current literary language of Soviet Azerbaijan together with passages of contemporary literature and extracts from the press.

RUSSIAN WORKS ON AFGHANISTAN. 12 pp. large post quarto. Price: Five Shillings.

A bibliography compiled for the most part from bibliographies and references found in Russian publications in the course of the Centre's study on Afghanistan (CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol. IV, No. 2). It does not claim to be exhaustive, but is believed to be the only one of its kind in existence. Although seldom referred to in Western literature, the amount of Russian writing on Afghanistan is considerable, particularly in relation to Afghan affairs during the past thirty-five years.

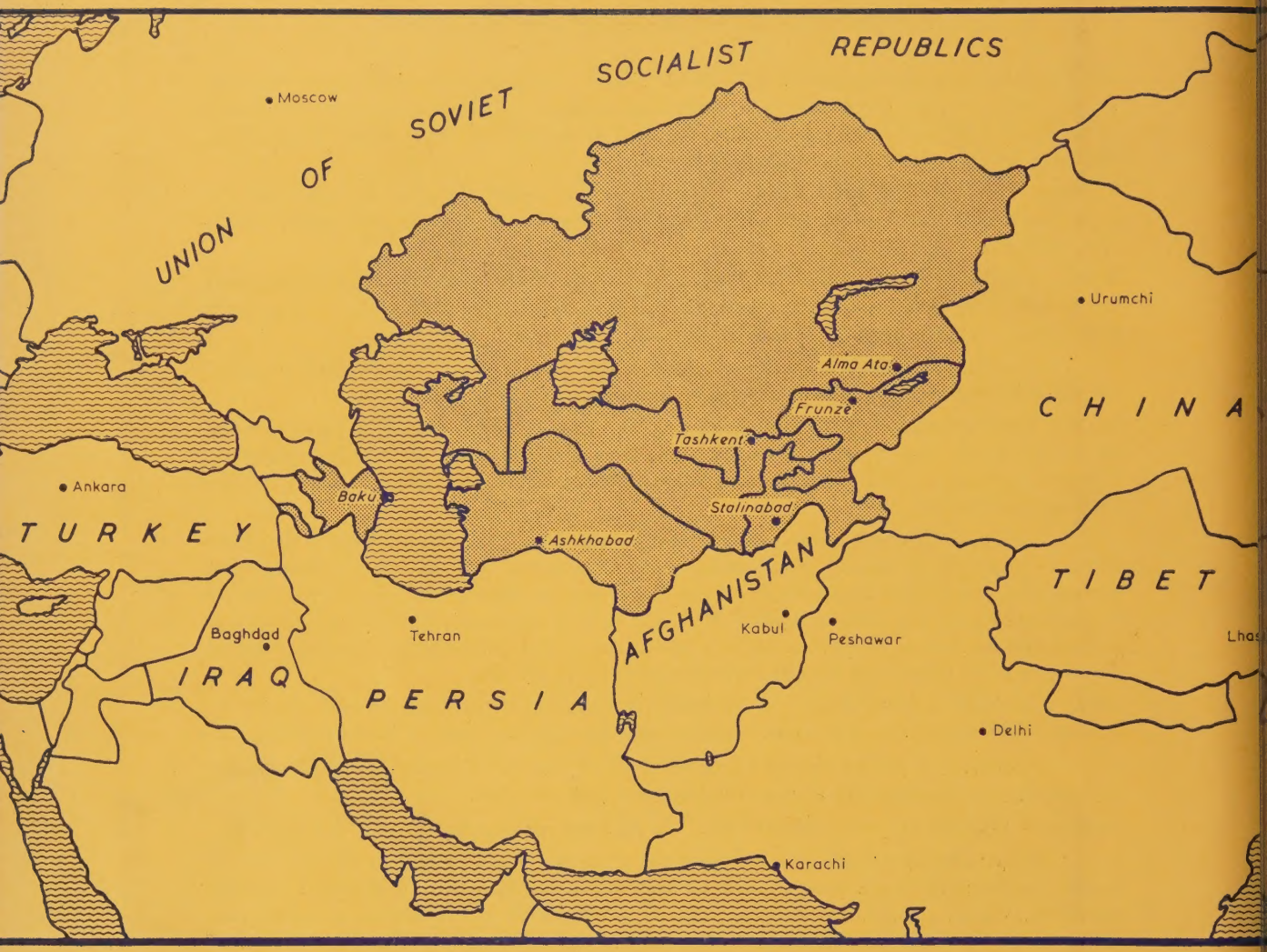
RECENT SOVIET SOURCE MATERIAL ON SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA AND THE BORDERLANDS: Issued as a biannual supplement to CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW. Approx. 40 pp. large post quarto. Price: Five Shillings.

This bibliography is limited to certain specific periodicals, about 50 in number, and to new books. Highly technical source material is not included.

In preparation

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE TURKMEN LANGUAGE by G.K. Dulling.

Turkmen, while related to modern Turkish and Azeri in the south-western group of Turkic languages, differs from them in several important points of phonetics, morphology and syntax. This book describes these differences and also contains some notes on the unwritten Turkmen dialects spoken outside the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistan in Persia and Afghanistan.



The above map shows the area covered by CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW in relation to the rest of USSR. The total extent of the area is about 1½ million square miles. According to the latest available fig the total population is 24,300,000 of whom about 16 millions are estimated to be indigenous.

The total area of Soviet Asia (i.e. the Urals Region, Transcaucasia, Eastern and Western Siberia, Soviet Far East, Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan) is approximately 7 million square miles and the popula about 64 million of whom 23 million are estimated to be indigenous. Thus, while the six Muslim Repu together occupy only one fifth of the total area of this region, their indigenous population amounts to a two thirds the total indigenous population.

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